

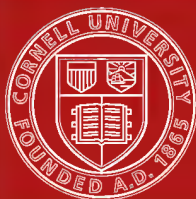
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A SOURCE BOOK
OF
ENGLISH HISTORY

VOLUME II

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A SOURCE BOOK
OF
ENGLISH HISTORY
FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS

Edited by
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CHAPTER I

RIGHT DIVINE. 1603—1641

AUTHORITIES CITED.

(1) EDWARD HYDE, LORD CLARENDON: moderate member of the Long Parliament, joined the king, went into exile with Charles II, returned with him at the Restoration, and was chief minister till his fall in 1667; when he retired to France and there wrote his *History of the Great Rebellion*.

(2) SIR JOHN ELIOT: one of the leaders of the Parliament in opposition to Charles I; he was imprisoned in 1627 for refusing to pay a forced loan and again in 1629. He died in prison in 1632. The *Port Eliot papers* cited are his MSS.

(3) DENZIL HOLLES: a prominent parliamentarian, brother-in-law of Thomas Wentworth, though he remained on the popular side when Wentworth deserted it. His letter is cited, like Wentworth's own, from the *Strafford Dispatches and Correspondence*.

(4) THOMAS WENTWORTH: leader of the parliamentary opposition till 1628, when he went over to the king's side and became the most powerful agent in the attempt to establish absolutism. He was "Deputy" or Governor of Ireland from 1633 till his fall in 1640.

(5) WILLIAM LAUD, Archbishop of Canterbury; compiled the *Troubles and Trials of William Laud* when confined in the Tower by the Long Parliament.

1. THE WISDOM OF JAMES I

[CLARENDON, *History of the Great Rebellion*]

At the close of the reign of James I, the king practically allowed the control of the government to pass into the hands of the favourite, Buckingham, and the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I. Buckingham and Charles quarrelled with Spain, where a marriage had been projected between the heir to the English throne and the Spanish infanta. War, instead of the alliance, with Spain was determined upon, and for once in Buckingham's life, the policy advocated by him was that desired by Parliament. James, however, disapproved of Buckingham's methods.

His majesty had another exception against the duke, which touched him as near, and in which he enlarged himself much more. Lionel Cranfield, who, though extracted from a gentleman's family, had been bred in the city, and, being a man of great wit and understanding in all the mysteries of trade, had found means to work himself into the good opinion and favour of the duke of Buckingham; and having shortly after married a near relation of the duke's, with wonderful expedition was made a privy counsellor, master of the wardrobe, master of the wards, and, without parting with any of these, was now become lord high treasurer of England, and earl of Middlesex, and had gained so much credit with the king (being in truth a man of great parts and notable dexterity), that, during the duke's absence in Spain, he was not only negligent in the issuing out such sums of money as were necessary for the defraying those unlimited expenses, and to correspond with him with that deference he had used to do, but had the courage to dispute his commands, and to appeal to the king whose ear was always inclined to him, in whom he begun

to believe himself so far fastened, that he should not stand in need of the future support of the favourite. And of all this the duke could not be without ample information, as well from his own creatures, who were near enough to observe, as from others; who, caring for neither of them, were more scandalized at so precipitate a promotion of a person of such an education, and whom they had long known so much their inferior, though it could not be denied that he filled the places he held with great abilities.

The duke no sooner found the parliament disposed to a good opinion of him, and being well assured of the prince's fast kindness, than he projected the ruin of this bold rival of his, of whom he saw clearly enough that the king had so good an opinion, that it would not be in his sole power to crush him, as he had done others in the same and as high station. And so he easily procured some leading men in the house of commons, to cause an impeachment for several corruptions and misdemeanours to be sent up to the house of peers against that great minister, whom they had so lately known their equal in that house; which (besides their natural inclinations to that kind of correction) disposed them with great alacrity to this prosecution. The wise king knew well enough the ill consequence that must attend such an activity; and that it would shake his own authority in the choice of his own ministers, when they should find, that their security did not depend solely upon his own protection: which breach upon his kingly power was so much without a precedent, (except one unhappy one made three years before, to gratify likewise a private displeasure), that the like had not been practiced in very many years.

When this prosecution was first entered upon, and that the king clearly discerned it was contrived by the duke, and that he had likewise prevailed with the prince to be well pleased with it; his majesty sent for them, and with much warmth and passion dissuaded them from appearing farther in it and conjured them "to use all their interest and authority to restrain it, as such a wound to the crown, that would not be easily healed." And when he found the duke unmoved by all the considerations and arguments, and commands he had offered, he said, in great choler, "By God, Steeny, you are a fool, and will shortly repent this folly, and will find that, in this fit of popularity, you are making a rod, with which you will be scourged yourself." And turning in some anger to the prince, told him, "That he would live to have his bellyfull of parliament impeachments: and when I shall be dead, you will have too much cause to remember, how much you have contributed to the weakening of the Crown, by the two precedents you are now so fond of"; intending as well the engaging the parliament in the war, as the prosecution of the earl of Middlesex.

2. TONNAGE AND POUNDAGE BILL. 1625

[*Port Eliot papers*]

In 1625, when Charles I succeeded his father on the throne, Buckingham's mismanagement of the war angered the Parliament, which refused to grant the king the right of levying tonnage and poundage (duty on imported goods) for more than a year.

The bill was drawne in the usuall forme, as formerlie it had been in the daies of king James; for the like terme of life and in such latitude as to him. At which

some exceptions were then made, and motions for change and alteration; upon which, it was referr'd, for the better discussion and debate, to the grand committee of the house, into which, the Speaker leaving his chair, they presentlie resolved themselves. Some did object, in that, the exactions of the officers, and the inequality of the customs then required; and urg'd therein a necessitie for the merchantes to have a new book of rates, to settle and compose it; which could not be prepared in so short a time and sitting. Others alleged the pretermitted customs, grounded upon the misconstruction of that lawe, which ought to be examined likewise: and the lawyers that then remayn'd were thought to be incapable of that worke. Therefore, on these reasons, they infer'd a desire for a limitation in the act, and that it might but continue for one year; against which time, those difficulties being resolv'd, they might againe renew it with a larger extension and continuance. Others to this added the question of impositions in the generall, and crav'd a special care not to have that excluded. The elder times were mentioned to note the former grants, wherein, though there were collected a great varietie and difference, yet all were within the limitation of some years. Sometimes for one, sometimes for two, seldome above three, and that in the best raignes and governments, and to the wisest princes; but never for life till towards the end of Henry VI, in whose beginnings also it had had other limitations and restraints, and for the time a less extent and latitude. Upon which likewise it was concluded for a present alteration in that pointe. The king's counsell oppos'd this with much sollicitation and indeavor, and urg'd the distaste it might occasion having so many descents held constant

in that forme. The hopes and meritts of the king wer compar'd with all his ancestors; and it was prest as a prejudice therein if the grant should then be limited having been absolute to the others. It was thereupon consented that a proviso should be added for the saving of those rights; and in this forme the bill past that house, and had its transition to the lords, wher it receav'd like favor and dispatch; but was not made a law, wanting the *roy le vent*; which being denied it, showed what must be lookt for.

3. GRIEVANCES BEFORE SUPPLIES. 1625

[*Port Eliot papers*]

From this time the parliamentary leaders began to insist as a first principle that the remedying of grievances should precede the granting of supplies. This is an extract from Eliot's speech.

Sir, I am for supply; supply of means for the country; supply in government; supply in justice; supply in reformation; supply in aid of our long neglected grievances! I am for insisting that these things may begin our labours; that we may settle this; that we now prepare it, that we present it! Nay, I will go further, that we attend and take our answers before we admit, in other things, either treaty or debate. But methinks I hear some Courtier saying to me, you go now too far. You exceed your limits. It is not a parliamentary course you propose. You have no precedent for it. I crave him pardon that speaks or thinks it. If I err, it is out of love, not out of flattery; and though I am not warranted, yet I am induced, by former practices; if changing of

persons do not change the case. Did we not the last parliament, freely give that session to the king, upon the promise and assurance of his word to have the next for us? Did we not, in the parliament before, do the like? And in both have we not expressed as much faith and love as could be expected from poor subjects? Did we not, in the 18th of king James, grant two subsidies which were presently confirmed, and part without a session? Have we not, on our side, ended with trust enough, those three times, to endear the credit of our sovereign? May we not justly challenge it as in that respect deserved, to have his majesty now begin with us? For is it not the same in reason as for us to begin with him? Surely it is. The business is the same. And, though there were no law of retaliation, this would persuade and move it; that what is the country's is the king's good. Those that will distinguish or divide them, I dare be bold to say are neither good scholars nor good statesmen! As we, then, have broken precedents for the king, let it not seem strange we should now desire the king may do the like for us. Let us receive some fruit of all our confidence and hope, that we may send it as a satisfaction to our countries¹. And as I know it will affect them, it shall hearten me to strain myself hereafter wholly unto the king's desires, this being granted now. Which general I shall therefore desire you to take into your memory and considerations, as that which may prepare, nay, that which must assure, our passage to the rest. And that, according to this, we may the better husband our time and business, I will hence descend into some particulars which I conceive next fit for your resolution. Wherein, part I will take from that

¹ i.e. counties.

that has passed now ; part from the memory of our last consultation ; and part I will add as it shall be necessary ; in all submitting to your greater judgements, either to be altered or reformed.

4. THE ISLE OF RHÉ

[*The Strafford Dispatches*]

In 1627 Buckingham's anger was kindled against France. To relieve the Huguenots who were in rebellion against the French Government and held the great port of Rochelle, Buckingham led an expedition to seize the isle of Rhé. The expedition was disastrously mismanaged.

The Honourable Denzill Holles, Esq. ; to Sir Thomas Wentworth, Bart.

Good Brother,

Though I hope very shortly to have the happiness to see you, with the Comfort of finding you and my Friends with you well, and leaving my friend here well also ; and that then I shall enjoy better than this Paper Conversation with you, yet to gain something in the Interim, give me Leave to bestow this Visit upon you, and withal to return Thanks for yours this last week.

I am most glad to hear my Sister is in so fair a Way of recovering Strength, since she last made you a second time a Father ; I wish she may many times do it to both your Comforts, and every Time still with more Comfort than the former ; that yet in our private Respects we may have some Cause of Joy, since the Publick affords us so little ; for you see how that goes on *de mal en pis*, as the French say ; and yet God hath blessed us better than we deserve, or by our Preparations than we could



Denzill Holles
(From the frontispiece to the *Memoirs*, 1699)

expect, or else we had been in a far worse Condition than we now are, though we be sufficiently bad; for it was a thousand to one we had lost all our Ships to close up this unfortunate Action, if a fair Wind had not so opportunely come to have brought them off for they had but ten Days Victuals left, which failing, they must have submitted themselves to the Enemy's Mercy, who besides were preparing with Long-Boats to have come and fired them, which was marvellous feasible, if they had staid never so little longer. For the Particulars of their most shameful Deroute upon their Retreat, which is or will be in every Body's Mouth, I doubt not but you know as well or better than myself. For the Action in general, one of themselves, who, for his Understanding and Sincerity, I may term also a Prophet of their own, has given me this Censure of it, that it was ill begun, worse ordered in every particular, and the Success accordingly most lamentable: Nothing but Discontents betwixt the General and the most understanding of his Soldiers, as Burroughs, Courtney, Spry; every Thing done against the Hair, and attempted without Probability of Success, and there was no Hopes of mastering the Place from the very beginning, especially since Michaelmas, that a very great Supply came at one Time into the Fort, and that since they relieved it at their Pleasure; yet for all this the Duke would stay, and would not stay, doing things by Halves, for had he done either, and gone through with, possibly it could not have been so ill as it is; for he removed his Ordnance and shipped it a Month almost afore he raised his Siege; yet still kept his Army there, fit neither for Offence nor Defence; and at the last, the Saturday before the unfortunate Monday he came away, would needs give a general Assault,

where many good Men were lost, when there was no Ordinance to protect them going on or coming off. *Et qualis vita, finis ita*¹; as they behaved themselves while they were there, so did they at their coming away; for though they knew two thousand French landed that Morning in the Island, and that there was at least three thousand in the two Forts, the great one and the little one (of which, by the Way, we never heard; but they thought it not fit we should know all, perhaps because they knew Secrecy an essential Part of War Policy) so as they could not but expect to be a little troubled with them in their marching, yet made they no Provision to secure themselves: For being to pass by a narrow Causey (where more than six or eight could not go in Front, and which a very small Number might have made good against a Million), and so by a Bridge over a little Passage into an Island, as it were, where once being they would be safe, there was no Order taken for viewing and preparing the Way; that when they came to it, there was no Passage over, so as their Stay there gave a great deal of Time and Opportunity to the Enemy, who all the while followed them at their Heels so close, that my Lord Duke himself, who, I know not by what Misfortune, was in the Rear, had like to have been snapped, if he had not presently made Way through the Troops then upon that narrow Causey. And had he, the General, miscarried, what might have become, think you, of the whole Army, like a Body without a Head, or a Flock without a Shepherd? But he carefully got himself on Ship-board that Night to prevent the worst, and to make Order for Boats for the shipping of the Army; but so the French falling on upon the Rear

¹ As the life was, so was its ending.

killed and took Prisoner as they would themselves, helped by our own Horse, who, to save themselves (which yet they could not do), broke in and rid over our Men, and put all into Disorder, which made Way for the Slaughter; but, it seems, no Resistance at all was made, but that they even disbanded, and shifted every one for himself; for sure there was no Word of Command given to make them face about for the repulsing of the Enemy, for then it must needs have gone from Hand to Hand through the whole Troops; and a Serjeant-Major that was in the Van has protested unto me, they did not so much as know that any Thing had been done 'till afterward a pretty while; And it had been the easiest thing in the World in that narrow Place to have beaten back the Enemy, had they been never so many, or at least to have defended themselves. But the Disorder and Confusion was so great, the Truth is, no Man can tell what was done, nor no Account can be given how any Man was lost, not the Lieutenant-Colonel how his Colonel, or Lieutenant how his Captain, or any one Man knows how another was lost, which is a Sign that Things were very ill carried. This only every Man knows, that since England was England it received not so dishonourable a Blow. Four Colonels lost, thirty two Colours in the Enemy's possession (but more lost), God knows how many Men slain, they say not above two thousand of our Side, and, I think, not one of the Enemies. But I little thought to have said so much when I began; *l'appétit m'est venu en mangeant*¹, one Thing having drawn in another I will here end with a Prayer, that God, who only can draw Light out of Darkness, will be pleased to give us a better Issue out

¹ My appetite grew with eating.

of our present miserable Condition, than any of us can expect, though we may hope and pray for it, to his holy Protection I commend you and yours, and so I rest

Your most affectionate Brother and Servant

D. HOLLES.

DORCHESTER, *November* 19, 1627.

5. LORDS AND COMMONS. 1628

[*Port Eliot papers*]

In 1628 the House of Commons brought forward the great Petition of Right. There was a disagreement as to procedure between the House of Lords and the House of Commons, Wentworth advising the Commons to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards the other Chamber. Sir John Eliot opposed him. A part of Eliot's speech follows.

Mr Speaker, I agree with the gentleman who spoke last in the foundations which he said, I agree with him that we should in this Petition, for strength and reputation to the work, seek to have the concurrence of the lords and their conjunction with us. I agree that their interest with the king would be of some advantage, and that, where both houses mutually are consenting, it gives the more authority and force. But the arguments that gentleman used to induce it, I can no way relish nor approve. Without it, he said, we should be like grass growing on the house-top that withers before it be cut down; or like the flower that fadeth before it be full ripe; or like the coin whose stamp is taken off, and by that doth lose its value; or like that bodily member whose nerves and sinews have been cut, and so is made unserviceable. As though the virtue and perfection of this house depended upon, and were included in, their

lordships. I am not so taken with the affectation of their lordships' honour, so much to flatter and exalt it. No ! I am confident that, should the lords desert us, we should yet continue flourishing and green. I do not fear, that, in a perfect character made up with hope and happiness, we should still retain a full strength in the virtue of our cause. In this, therefore, I disagree, and must vary from that gentleman; and from his conclusion I am so far dissenting and at odds, that I cannot but be amazed at the proposition which he makes, and this both in respect of the matter and the time. For the time, that after so large a conference and debate, after so mature a resolution as hath been given in this, after six weeks' deliberations in the cause, after six days resistance on this point, yet contrary to all the former order of proceeding, contrary to the positive and direct order of the house, such a proposition should now be newly offered to draw us from the ways of safety and assurance, and to cast us upon new difficulties, new rocks. The order of the house, you know, was, that we should take into consideration the proposition of the lords, and what was expedient to be done. The first part of that order was settled by the sub-committee yesterday, which resolved it to be no way fit for us to entertain. The second part was ended by the grand committee this morning, in direction of those arguments to the lords which they framed for an answer and excuse why we could not join in the course that was propounded. Sir, it cannot surely be denied that what is offered more, what is offered now at this time, is at least an interruption, if not in contradiction of that order. And as such order of the house has no correspondence with this now suggested, so that nature of the business itself, and our

former way of treaty with the lords, is opposed to it. I will ask you, Sir, Whether in all our proceedings from the first, in so many conferences and intercourses as there have been, more has been entertained at any time than the first draft and body of the Petition we presented? What alteration or addition have we at any time propounded to the lords? Nay, Sir, you know so far we were from that, that we have not consented to receive any, though with the greatest art insinuated, excepting in those two words only of *unlawful* and *pretext*. And, when the difficulty is considered wherewith the latter change was admitted, it should be a sufficient argument to deter any man in the like, much more in that which has so much more of danger. Sir, I remember an expression that was used when this cause came first in agitation, to endear the weight of the question, and the care we should have of it. It was by the same gentleman whose proposition I now oppose. He then desired, if he did not faithfully insist for the common liberty of the subject to be preserved entire and whole, he desired, I say, that he might be “set as a beacon on a hill for all men else to wonder at”! The power of that remains with me. It is with me at this time, and for the reasons which then he used, and which are not easily resistible. By those I am so bound up in this particular to the resolution he then made, that, seeing the danger his present proposition would induce, I cannot be consenting or admit it. From his second, I must appeal to his first conclusion, and desire him to make his own reason the judge against himself, and determine between us. But besides, Sir, the nature of the business is against it. As I before have argued, no “saving” in this kind, with what subtlety soever worded, can be other than

destructive to our work. Our greatest lawyers have confirmed this. It could only endanger us with ourselves. It could only be an instrument of division to distract us. It could only draw a consequence of more prejudice than, I hope, any man intends; far more, I am sure, than, the merit or desert of any man could counterpoise. And, Sir, for that which is pretended to make it more passable with the king, I have assurance to the contrary from an honourable gentleman near the chair, who gave it as a confidence both unto me and others, that his majesty, when he first heard of the resolution of the lords for their elause of new addition, was so far from liking it, that he conceived some displeasure at the way they had gone, taking it rather as tending to his prejudice than his advantage. So that this argument, then, is but a colour and an art to give satisfaction to some ministers whose worths will hardly merit it; and for whom, I freely must profess myself that I never will consent to part with any liberties of the subject. But I fear I have been too long insisting on these points, which your own judgements have so clear. I shall therefore now resort to my conclusion. Sir, as you formerly directed for conferenee with the lords, arguments of two sorts, rational and legal, for confutation of the opinions held by our house; and as satisfaction has thus not only been obtained in this particular, but in general for all additions and propositions of like nature; my conclusion now shall be, that we may follow on that course, notwithstanding all diversions to the contrary. I move that we do further press their lordships, for the expedition of the work and for the satisfaction of his majesty, that there may be no more time spent in these intercourses and meetings which beget trouble to ourselves,

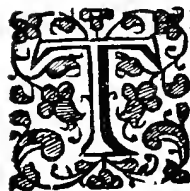


TO
THE KINGS
MOST EXCELLENT
MAJESTY

The humble Petition of Sir *John Elliot*
Knight, Prisoner in the Gatehouse con-
cerning the LOANE.

Delivered the
10th of No-
vemb. 1627.
but never an-
swered.

S H E W E T H,



THAT your poore suppliant affected with
sorrow and unhappinesse, through the long
sense of your Majesties displeasure, willing in
every act of duty and obedience to satisfie
your Majesty of the loyalty of his heart, then
which he hath nothing more desired, that
there may not remain a jealousie in your roy-
all breast, that stubbornnesse and will have been the motives of
his forbearing to condescend to the said Loan, low as your High-
nesse foot, with a sad yet a faithfull heart, for an Apology to your
Clemency and Grace, he now presumes to offer up the Reasons

N 2

Title-page of Sir John Eliot's petition, printed in 1649

protraction to our business, jealousy and discontent in the sovereign. In these proerastinations and delays he thinks both himself and his services neglected; whereas the necessity of our affairs stands still as it was originally declared by us at the beginning of this parliament. It stands still in reason, that but by the clearing of our liberties can there be given either affections or abilities to the people to supply the king with money; while yet his occasions, on the other side, may more hastily require it, and so, by such delays as I now resist, may be hindered and impeached.

6. A REMONSTRANCE AGAINST BUCKINGHAM

[*Port Eliot papers*]

In June of the same year (1628) a fierce attack upon Buckingham in the House of Commons was led by Sir John Eliot.

At Cadiz then, in that first expedition we made, when they arrived and found a conquest ready (the Spanish ships, I mean) fit for the satisfaction of a voyage, and of which some of the chiefs then there have since themselves assured me the satisfaction would have been sufficient, either in point of honour, or in point of profit, —why was it neglected? why was it not achieved? it being of all hands granted how feasible it was.

Afterward, when, with the destruction of some men, and the exposure of some others (who, though their fortunes have not since been such, then by chance came off), when, I say, with the losses of our serviceable men, that unserveable sort was gained and the whole army landed, why was there nothing done, nothing once attempted? If nothing were intended, wherefore did

they land? If there were a service, why were they shipped again?

Mr Speaker, it satisfies me too much in this when I think of their dry and hungry march unto that drunken quarter (for so the soldiers termed it) where was the period of their journey, that divers of our men being left as a sacrifice to the enemy, that labour was at an end.

For the next undertaking, at Rhée, I will not trouble you much; only this in short. Was not that whole action carried against the judgement and opinion of the officers? those that were of council? was not the first, was not the last, was not all, in the landing, in the intrenching, in the continuance there, in the assault, in the retreat? Did any advice take place of such as were of the council? If there should be a particular disquisition thereof, these things would be manifest, and more. I will not instance now the manifestation that was made for the reasons of these arms; nor by whom, nor in what manner, nor on what grounds it was published; nor what effects it has wrought, drawing, as you know, almost all the whole world into league against us! Nor will I mention the leaving of the mines, the leaving of the salt, which were in our possession; and of a value, as it is said, to have answered much of our expence. Nor that great wonder, which nor Alexander nor Caesar ever did, the enriching of the enemy by courtesies when the soldiers wanted help! Nor the private intercourse and parlies with the fort, which continually were held. What they intended may be read in the success, and upon due examination thereof they would not want their proofs.

For the last voyage to Rochelle, there needs no

observation; it is so fresh in memory. Nor will I make an inferenee or corollary on all. Your own knowledge shall judge what truth, or what suffieieney, they express.

For the next, the ignorance or eorruption of our ministers, where can you miss of instanees? If you survey the court, if you survey the country, if the church, if the city, if the shipping; if the land, if the seas: all these will render you variety of proofs, and in such measure and proportion as shews the greatness of our sickness, that if it have not some speedy application for remedy, our case is most desperate.

Mr Speaker, I fear I have been too long in these partieulars that are past, and am unwilling to offend you; therefore in the rest I shall be shorter. And in that which concerns the impoverishing of the king, no other arguments will I use than such as all men grant.

The exchequer you know is empty, the reputation thereof gone! The ancient lands are sold, the jewels pawned, the plate engaged, the debt still great, and almost all charges both ordinary and extra-ordinary borne by projects! What poverty can be greater? what neccessity so great? What perfect English heart is not almost dissolved into sorrow for the truth?

For the oppression of the subject, which, as I remember, is the next partieular I proposed, it needs no demonstration. The whole kingdom is a proof. And for the exhausting of our treasures, that oppression speaks it.

What waste of our provisions, what consumption of our ships, what destruction of our men have been,—witness the journey to Argiers! Witness that with Mansfield! Witness that to Cadiz! Witness the next! Witness that to Rhée! Witness the last! (And I pray

to God we may never have more such witnesses!) Witness likewise the Palatinate! Witness Denmark! Witness the Turks! Witness the Dunkirkers! Witness All! What losses we have sustained! Here we are impaired in munition, in ships, in men.

It has no contradiction! We were never so much weakened, nor had less hope how to be restored!

There Mr Speaker, are our dangers; these are they do threaten us, and are like that Trojan horse brought in cunningly to surprise us! For in these do lurk the strongest of our enemies ready to issue on us; and if we do not now the more speedily expel them, these will be the sign and invitation to others. They will prepare such entrance that we shall have no means left of refuge or defence; for if we have these enemies at home, how can we strive with them that are abroad! But if we be free from these, no others can impeach us! Our ancient English virtue, that old Spartan valour, cleared from these disorders; being in sincerity of religion once made friends with heaven; having maturity of councils, sufficiency of generals, incorruption of officers, opulency in the king, liberty in the people, repletion in treasures, restitution of provisions, reparation of ships, preservation of men—our ancient English virtue, I say, thus rectified, will secure us. But unless there be a speedy reformation in these, I know not what hope or expectation we may have.

These things, Sir, I shall desire to have taken into consideration. That as we are the great council of the kingdom, and have the apprehension of these dangers we may truly represent them to the king; wherein I conceive we are bound by a treble obligation of duty to God, of duty to his majesty, and of duty to our country.

And therefore I wish it may so stand with the wisdom of the house, that they may be drawn into the body of a Remonstrance, and there with all humility expressed ; with a prayer unto his majesty that for the safety of himself, for the safety of the kingdom, for the safety of religion, he will be pleased to give us time to make perfect inquisition thereof ; or to take them into his own wisdom and there give them such timely reformation as the necessity of the cause, and his justice, do import.

And thus, Sir, with a large affection of loyalty to his majesty, and with a firm duty and service to my country, I have suddenly, and it may be with some disorder, expressed the weak apprehensions I have, wherein if I have erred, I humbly crave your pardon, and so submit it to the censure of the house.

7. THE BREAKING OF PARLIAMENT

[*Port Eliot papers*]

When the Parliament which had been prorogued after the passing of the Petition of Right met again, there was a violent conflict between the Crown and the Commons. Eliot led the attack, and the section following is a portion of his speech, on March 2nd, 1629. After that date, eleven years passed before another Parliament assembled.

The miserable condition we are in, both in matter of religion and of policy, makes me look with a tender eye on both the king and the subject. You know how our religion is attempted ; how Arminianism like a secret pioneer undermines it, and how Popery like a strong enemy comes on ! That particular of the Jesuits concerning their plantation, their new college, here amongst

us ; the other things incident to that which our late disquisitions have laid open ; are such a demonstration and evidence, and so manifestly in a short view show the power and boldness of that faction, that not to see the danger we are in, were not to know the being that we have. Not to confess, and not to endeavour to prevent it, were to be conscious and partners of the crime. It were so to be partners of the evil as would conclude ourselves guilty of the breach and violation of all duty, our duty towards God, our duty to the king, our duty to our country.

Nor is this danger only in those men who are so active themselves, and so industrious to evil, that I think no sound man will judge that they portend to be, or can be, instruments of our God. Those men, I mean, whose virtues are so widely known that they have been banished from almost all states else in Christendom, and have come for sanctuary here to us ! Those Jesuits, I say, are not the whole cause of the danger we are in ; which yet were not little, depending merely upon them ! It is enlarged by the concurrence of their fautors¹, of their patrons, by whose countenance and means they were introduced. I speak of the men who now possess amongst us the power and superintendency of law, and who dare to check the magistrates in the execution of all justice. From these men comes likewise another line of danger, pointing at the very centre of our hopes, our religion, our existence. To them I look as to the streams from whence flow the causes of our sufferings here. They are the authors of our interruptions in this place. Their guilt and fear of punishment have cast us on the rocks where now we are. They have no confidence

¹ i.e. favourers.

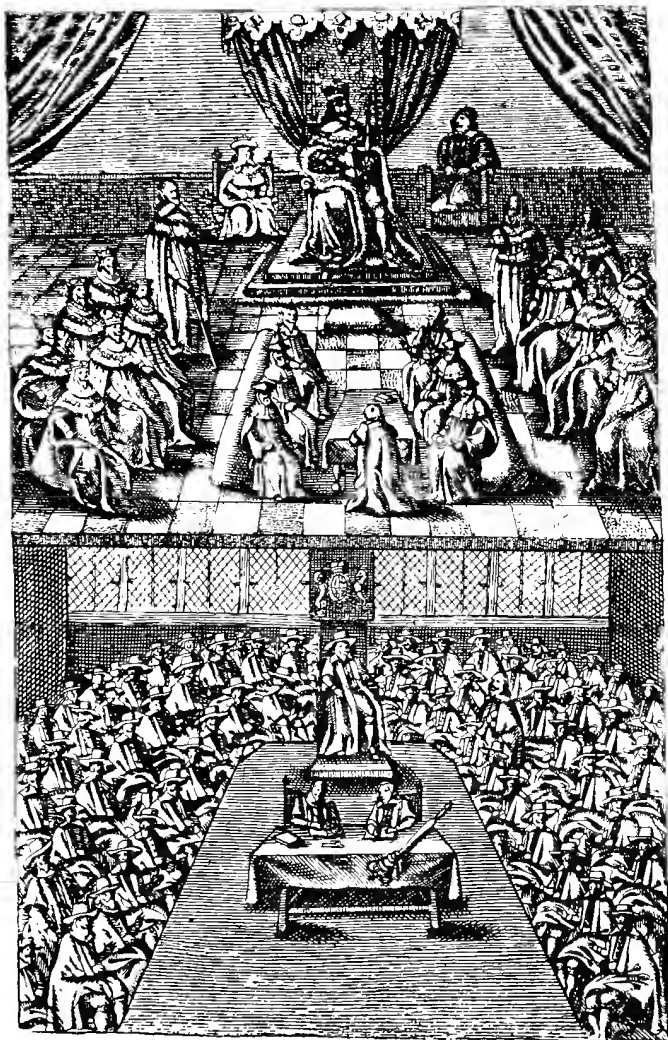
or security in themselves but what they draw from our trouble and disturbanec. There are amongst them some prelates of the church, such as in all ages have been ready for innovation and disturbance, though (I fear) at this time more than any. The bishop of Winchester and his fellows are among them, and they confirm it. It is too apparent what they have done and what practices they have used to cast an aspersion on the king, to draw his piety into question, and to give the world jealousy of that !

I denounce them as enemies to his majesty. All who in like guilt and conscience of themselves do join their force with that bishop and the rest to draw his majesty into jealousy of the parliament, I declare to be enemies ; and amongst them I shall not shirk to name the great lord treasurer¹, and to say that I fear in his person is contracted the very root and principle of these evils. I find him building upon the old grounds and foundations which were laid by the duke of Buckingham, his great master. His counsels, I am doubtful, begat the sad issue of the last session ; and from this cause that unhappy conclusion was contracted.

But for preparation to his reward, this note let me give him by the way. Whoever have occasioned these public breaches in parliaments for their private interests and respects, the felicity has not lasted to a perpetuity of that power. None have gone about to break parliaments but in the end parliaments have broken them ! The examples of all ages confirm it. The fates in that hold correspondency with justice. No man was ever blasted in this house but a curse fell upon him !

I return to the consideration of our dangers. I

¹ Weston.



The Houses of Parliament in the time of Charles I
(From the frontispiece to *A Collection of Ordinances of Parliament*, 1646)

deduce not the cause from the affections only of that lord, whereof there is so large an indication. His relations likewise express it, his acts and operations in their course. Does he not strive to make himself, and already is he not become, the head of all the papists? Have not their priests and jesuits daily intercourse with him? I doubt not but a few days will discover it even in its secrets, and what plots and machinations have been laid. The proof I am confident will be such as to fix it indubitably upon him. And then it will more plainly be seen by what influence and powers are caused our dangers in religion.

In policy, wherein like fear is apprehended, the demonstration is as easy. I can but touch it now in respect of the straightness we are in. In that great question of tonnage and poundage, the interest which is pretended for the king is but the interest of that person, the lord treasurer. It is used by him as an engine for the removing of our trade, and if it be allowed it cannot but subvert the government and kingdom. It was a counsel long since given against us by Hospitalis, chancellor to Charles the Ninth of France, that the way to debilitate this state, the way to weaken and infirm it and so to make it fit for conquest and invasion, was not by open attempt, not by outward strength to force it, but first to impeach our trade, to hinder or divert it, to stop it in our hands or to turn it into others, and to lay waste our walls! those wooden walls, our ships, that both fortify and enrich us! That counsel is now in practice. That intention is brought to act. Though yet it be shadowed by disguise, and now stands masked before us, I doubt not but a few days will open and discover it. The purpose then will be plain, that in this

work is meant our ruin and destruction. To that end already strangers are invited to drive our trade; or at least, which will be equally as dangerous, our merchants are to be driven to trade in strangers' bottoms.

It is this design so ignorantly conceived, it is the quilt thereof, that imprints a fear upon the great lord's conscience, and makes him misinterpret our proceedings and misrepresent them to his majesty. And therefore is it fit for us, as true Englishmen, in discharge of our own duties in this case, to show the affection that we have to the honour and safety of our sovereign, to show our affection to religion, and to the rights and interests of the subject. It befits us to declare our purpose to maintain them, and our resolution to live and die in their defence. That so like our fathers, we may preserve ourselves as freemen, and by that freedom keep ability for the supply and support of his majesty when our services may be needful. To which end this paper which I hold was conceived, and has this scope and meaning.

8. WENTWORTH'S IRISH ADMINISTRATION

[*Strafford Dispatches*]

Sir Thomas Wentworth, who was one of the leaders of Parliament until the passing of the Petition of Right, then entered the king's service. First as Baron Wentworth, and finally as Earl of Strafford, he was the king's most powerful minister. In 1633 he was sent to Ireland as Deputy. Here he describes the report of his Irish administration which he laid before the Council three years later.

I informed the Council that the Army was well clad, reasonably armed, (but should be yet better) well exercised, and well paid, which they had never been

before ; that I had visited the whole Army, seen every single Man myself, as well in Person as in his Exercising, where other Generals, that had continued the Charge longer than myself, had not taken a View so much as of one Company ; that in the Removes and Marches of the Army they paid justly for what they took, and past along with Civility and Modesty, as other Subjects, without Burdens to the Country through which they went, but formerly they too took Victuals and paid nothing, as if it had been an Enemy's Country. Whence it was that the Soldier is now welcome in every Place, where before they were an Abomination to the Inhabitants ; that by this Means the Army in true Account might be said to be of double Strength it had been apprehended, so much as there is neither Courage nor Hope left for Opposition ; the Good secured, the Bad kept in Humility and Fear by it, to be judged worthy the King's Entertainments, and when they shall be seen, will appear with a Company of gallant Gentlemen, their Officers, fit to serve a great and wise King, whereas not much of all this before, but rather quite the contrary : That for myself, I had a dead Stock in Horses, Furniture and Arms for my Troop, that stood me in £6000. That in Readiness upon the Hour's Warning to march, nor did I this out of Vanity, but really in regard I did conceive it became me not to represent so great a Majesty meanly in the Sight of the People ; that it was of mighty Reputation to the Service of the Crown, when they saw me in such a Posture, as that I was upon an Hour's Warning able to put myself on Horseback and to deliver, in spite of all Opposition, a Letter in any Part of the Kingdom ; and lastly, in regard Men should see I would not exact so much Duty from any private

Captain as I did myself, upon myself, being their General.

I concluded this Point with delivering my most humble Advice, that the Army, as of absolute Necessity to that Government, was rather to be reinforced than at all diminished, as an excellent Minister and Assistant in the Execution of all the King's Writs, the great Peace-maker betwixt the British and the Natives, betwixt the Protestant and Papist, and the chief Securer under God and his Majesty of the future and past Plantations.

The last of my Generals was that of Trade ; which I discoursed in this Manner ; I let them see, how the Merchants trading thither had been spoiled by the Pirates before my Coming, as well in his Majesty's Harbours, as at Sea, a Ship fired in the Port of Dublin, in Sight of his Majesty's Castle, and there continued burning, and the Pirate lading and returning from the Ship two days together to the mighty Scandal of the State ; that the Shipping for want of Money came so late in the Year, that all the Mischief was done before they came, which commonly was not before the latter end of July, but that now the Monies duly answered into the Exchequer here, the Ships had been for these two last Years upon the Coast by the Beginning of March, five or six of the Biscayners taken within the Channel, imprisoned, and after released upon their Promise not to exercise any Hostility hereafter within the Channel ; a great Ship of the Duke of Macqueda taken on the West Coast, and thereby so discouraged them, that the Merchant hath not lost any thing since my Arrival there, nor so much as heard of a Biscayner these last two Summers : This hath been a Means that

Trade hath increased exceedingly, and so will still (if we have Peace) to the honour of his Majesty and the enriching of his people.

That the Trade here was not only much greater, but rightly conditioned, the native Commodities exported, being in Value at Least a Third, if not Double the Value, to the Foreign Commodities imported; a certain Sign that that Commonwealth gathers upon their Neighbours.

That there was little or no Manufacture among them, but some small Beginnings, towards a clothing Trade, which I had and so should still discourage all I could, unless otherwise directed by his Majesty and their Lordships, in regard it would trench not only upon the Clothings of England, being our Staple Commodity, so as if they should manufacture their own Wools, which grew to very great Quantities, we should not only lose the Profit we made now by indraping their Wools, but his Majesty lost extremely by his Customs, and in Conclusion it might be feared, they would beat us out of the Trade itself, by underselling us, which they were well able to do. Besides, in Reason of State, so long as they did not indrape their own Wools, they must of Necessity fetch their Clothing from us, and consequently in a sort depend upon us for their Livelihood, and thereby become so dependent upon this Crown, as they could not depart from us without Nakedness to themselves and Children: Yet have I endeavoured another way to set them at work and that is by bringing in the Making and Trade of Linen Cloth, the rather in regard the Women are all naturally bred to Spinning, that the Irish Earth is apt for bearing of Flax, and that this Manufacture would be in the Conclusion rather a Benefit than other to this Kingdom. I have therefore

sent for the Flax Seed into Holland, being of a better sort than we have any, sowed this Year a thousand Pounds worth of it (finding some I sowed the last Year, that it takes there very well) I have sent for Workmen out of the Low Countries, and forth of France, and set up already six or seven Looms, which if Please God to bless us this Year, I trust so to invite them to follow it, when they see the great Profit arising thereby, as that they shall generally take to it, and employ themselves that way, which, if they do, I am confident it will prove a mighty Business considering that in all probability we shall be able to undersell the Linen Clothes of Holland and France at least twenty in the Hundred.

My humble Advice in the Conclusion for the Increase of Trade was, that his Majesty should not suffer any Act of Hostility to be offered to any Merchants or their Goods within the Channel, which was to be preserved and privileged, as the greatest of his Majesty's Ports, in the same Nature and Property as the Venetian State do their Gulf, and the King of Denmark his sound ; and therefore I humbly besought his Majesty and their Lordships, that it might accordingly be remembered and provided for, in all future Treaties with Foreign Princes.

9. ARCHBISHOP LAUD

[CLARENDON, *History of the Great Rebellion*]

Archbishop Laud guided the ecclesiastical policy of Charles I. In 1633 he was translated from the Bishopric of London to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. His portrait is drawn by Lord Clarendon.

This great prelate had been before in great favour with the duke of Buckingham, whose chief confidant he was, and by him recommended to the king, as fittest to

be trusted in the conferring all ecclesiastical preferments, when he was but bishop of St David's, or newly preferred to Bath and Wells: and from that time he entirely governed that province without a rival: so that his promotion to Canterbury was long foreseen and expected; nor was it attended with any increase of envy or dislike.

He was a man of great parts, and very exemplary virtues, allayed and discredited by some unpopular natural infirmities; the greatest of which was (besides a hasty, sharp way of expressing himself), that he believed innocence of heart, and integrity of manners, was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through this world, in what company soever he travelled, and through what ways soever he was to pass; and sure never any man was better supplied with that provision. He was born of honest parents, who were well able to provide for his education in the schools of learning, from whence they sent him to St John's college in Oxford, the worst endowed at that time of any in that famous university. From a scholar he became a fellow and then the president of that college, after he had received all the graces and degrees (the proctorship and the doctorship) could be obtained there. He was always maligned and persecuted by those who were of the Calvinian faction, which was then very powerful, and who, according to their usual maxim and practice, call every man they do not love, papist; and under this senseless appellation they created him many troubles and vexations: and so far suppressed him, that though he was the king's chaplain, and taken notice of for an excellent preacher, and a scholar of the most sublime parts, he had not any preferment to invite him to leave

his poor college, which only gave him bread, till the vigour of his age was past : and when he was promoted by king James, it was but to a poor bishoprie in Wales, which was not so good a support for a bishop, as his college was for a private scholar though a doctor.

Parliaments in that time were frequent, and grew very busy ; and the party under which he had suffered a continual persecution, appeared very powerful, and full of design, and they who had the courage to oppose them, begun to be taken notice of with approbation and countenance : under this style he came to be first cherished by the duke of Buckingham, who had made some experiments of the temper and spirit of the other people, nothing to his satisfaction. From this time he prospered at the rate of his own wishes, and being transplanted out of his eold barren diocese of St David's into a warmer climate, he was left as was said before, by that great favourite, in that great trust with the king, who was sufficiently indisposed towards the persons or the principles of Calvin's disciples.

When he came into great authority, it may be, he retained too keen a memory of those who had so unjustly and uncharitably persecuted him before ; and, I doubt, was so far transported with the same passions he had reason to complain of in his adversaries, that as they accused him of popery, because he had some doctrinal opinions which they liked not, though they were nothing allied to popery ; so he entertained too much prejudice to some persons, as if they were enemies to the discipline of the church, because they concurred with Calvin in some doctrinal points ; when they abhorred his discipline, and reverenced the government of the church, and prayed for the peace of it with as

much zeal and fervency as any in that kingdom ; as they made manifest in their lives, and in their sufferings with it, and for it. He had from his first entrance into the world, without any disguise or dissimulation, declared his own opinion of that classis of men : and, as soon as it was in his power, he did all he could to hinder the growth and increase of that faction, and to restrain those who were inclined to it, from doing the mischief they desired to do. But his power at court could not enough qualify him to go through with that difficult reformation, whilst he had a superior in the church, who, having the reins in his hand, could slacken them according to his own humour and indiscretion ; and was thought to be the more remiss, to irritate his choleric disposition. But when he had now the primacy in his own hand, the king being inspired with the same zeal, he thought he should be to blame, and have much to answer for, if he did not make haste to apply remedies to those diseases, which he saw would grow apace. The archbishop had, all his life, eminently opposed Calvin's doctrine in those controversies, before the name of Arminius was taken notice of or his opinions heard of ; and thereupon, for want of another name, they called him a papist, which nobody believed him to be, and he had more manifested the contrary in his disputations and writings, than most men had done ; and it may be the other found the more severe and vigorous usage from him, for their propagating that calumny against him. He was a man of great courage and resolution, and being most assured within himself, that he proposed no end in all his actions and designs, but what was pious and just (as sure no man had ever a heart more entire to the king, the church, or his country), he never studied

the easiest ways to those ends ; he thought, it may be, that any art or industry that way would discredit it, at least make the integrity of the end suspected, let the cause be what it will. He did court persons too little ; nor cared to make his designs and purposes appear as candid as they were, by shewing them in any other dress than their own natural beauty, though perhaps in too rough a manner ; and did not consider enough what men said, or were like to say of him. If the faults and vices were fit to be looked into and discovered, let the persons be who they would that were guilty of them they were sure to find no connivance of favour from him. He intended the discipline of the church should be felt, as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressors, as well as to the punishments of smaller offences, and meaner offenders ; and thereupon called for or cherished the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other men, or their power or will to chastise.

10. STRAFFORD AND HIS ENEMIES

[CLARENDON, *History of the Great Rebellion*]

Wentworth's portrait, drawn by Lord Clarendon.

The earl of Strafford had for the space of almost six years entirely governed Ireland, where he had been compelled, upon reason of state, to exercise many acts of power : and had indulged some to his own appetite and passion, as in the cases of the lord chancellor, and the lord Mount-Norris ; the first of which was *satis pro*

imperio ; but the latter, if it had not concerned a person notoriously unbeloved, and so more unpitied, would have been thought the most extravagant piece of sovereignty, that in a time of peace had been ever executed by any subject. When and why he was called out of Ireland to assist in council here, I have touched before. He was a man of too high and severe deportment, and too great a contemner of ceremony, to have many friends at court, and therefore could not but have enemies enough : he had two that professed it, the earl of Holland, and sir Henry Vane ; the first could never forget or forgive a sharp, sudden saying of his, (for I cannot call it counsel or advice), when there had been some difference a few years before between his lordship and the lord Weston, in the managing whereof the earl of Holland was confined to his house, “that the king should do well to cut off his head” : which had been aggravated (if such an injury were capable of aggravation) by a succession of discountenances mutually performed between them to that time. Sir Henry Vane had not far to look back to the time that the earl had with great earnestness opposed his being made secretary, and prevailed for above a month’s delay ; which, though it was done with great reason and justice by the earl on the behalf of an old fellowservant, and his very good friend, sir John Coke, (who was to be, and afterwards was, removed to let him in,) yet the justice to the one lessened not the sense of unkindness to the other : after which, or about the same time, (which it may be made the other to be the more virulently remembered) being to be made earl of Strafford, he would needs in that patent have a new creation of a barony, and was made baron of Raby, a house belonging to sir Henry Vane,

and an honour he made account should belong to himself; which was an act of the most unnecessary provocation (though he contemned the man with marvellous scorn) that I have known, and I believe was the chief occasion of the loss of his head. To these a third adversary (like to be more pernicious than the other two), was added, the earl of Essex, naturally enough disinclined to his person, his power, and his parts, upon some rough carriage of the earl of Strafford's towards the late earl of Saint Alban's, to whom he had a friendship, and therefore openly professed to be revenged. Lastly, he had an enemy more terrible than all the other, and like to be more fatal, the whole Scottish nation, provoked by the declaration he had procured of Ireland, and some high carriage and expressions of his against them in that kingdom. So that he had reason to expect as hard measure from such popular councils as he saw were likely to be in request, as all those disadvantages could create towards him. And yet no doubt his confidence was so great in himself, and in the form of justice, (which he could not suspect would be so totally confounded,) that he never apprehended a greater censure than a sequestration from all public employments, in which it is probable he had abundant satiety: and this confidence could not have proceeded (considering the full knowledge he had of his judges) but from a proportionable stock of, and satisfaction in, his own innocence.

11. PYM, HAMPDEN, AND SIR HARRY VANE

[CLARENDON, *History of the Great Rebellion*]

Portraits of three prominent parliamentarians, drawn by Lord Clarendon.

Mr Pym was looked upon as the man of greatest experience in parliament, where he had served very long, and was always a man of business, being an officer in the exchequer, and of a good reputation generally, though known to be inclined to the puritan faction ; yet not of those furious resolutions against the church as the other leading men were, and wholly devoted to the earl of Bedford, who had nothing of that spirit.

Mr Hampden was a man of much greater cunning, and it may be of the most discerning spirit, and of the greatest address and insinuation to bring any thing to pass which he desired, of any man of that time, and who laid the design deepest. He was a gentleman of a good extraction, and a fair fortune, who from a life of great pleasure and license, had on a sudden retired to extraordinary sobriety and strictness, and yet retained his usual cheerfulness and affability ; which, together with the opinion of his wisdom and justice, and the courage he had shewed in opposing the ship-money, raised his reputation to a very great height, not only in Buckinghamshire, where he lived, but generally throughout the kingdom. He was not a man of many words, and rarely begun the discourse, or made the first entrance upon any business that was assumed ; but a very weighty speaker, and after he had heard a full debate, and observed how the house was like to be inclined, took up the argument, and shortly and clearly,

and craftily, so stated it, that he commonly conducted it to the conclusion he desired; and if he found he could not do that, he was never without the dexterity



John Hampden

to divert the debate to another time, and to prevent the determining any thing in the negative, which might prove inconvenient in the future. He made so great

a show of civility, modesty, and humility, and always of mistrusting his own judgement, and esteeming his with whom he conferred for the present, that he seemed to have no opinions or resolutions, but such as he contracted from the information and instruction he received upon the discourses of others, whom he had a wonderful art of governing, and leading into his principles and inclinations, whilst they believed that he wholly depended upon their counsel and advice. No man had ever a greater power of himself, or was less the man that he seemed to be, which shortly after appeared to every body, when he cared less to keep on the mask.

Sir Harry Vane was a man of great natural parts, and of very profound dissimulation, of quick conception, and very ready, sharp, and weighty expression. He had an unusual aspect, which, though it might naturally proceed both from his father and mother, neither of which were beautiful persons, yet made men think there was something in him extraordinary; and his whole life made good that imagination. Within a very short time after he returned from his studies in Magdalen college in Oxford, where, though he was under the care of a very worthy tutor, he lived not with great exactness, he spent some little time in France, and more in Geneva; and, after his return into England, contracted a full prejudice and bitterness against the church, both against the form of the government, and the liturgy, which was generally in great reverence, even with many of those who were not friends to the other. In this giddiness, which then much displeased, or seemed to displease his father, who still appeared highly conformable, and exceeding sharp against those who were not, he transported himself into New England, a colony

within few years before planted by a mixture of all religions, which disposed the professors to dislike the government of the church ; who were qualified by the king's charter to choose their own government and governors, under the obligation, "that every man should take the oath of allegiance and supremacy" ; which all the first planters did, when they received their charter, before they transported themselves from hence, nor was there in many years the least scruple amongst them of complying with those obligations ; so far men were, in the infancy of their schism, from refusing to take lawful oaths. He was no sooner landed there, but his parts made him quickly taken notice of, and very probably his quality, being the eldest son of a privy-counsellor, might give him some advantage ; insomuch that, when the next season came for the election of their magistrates, he was chosen their governor ; in which place he had so ill fortune (his working and unquiet fancy raising and infusing a thousand scruples of conscience, which they had not brought over with them, nor heard of before) that he unsatisfied with them, and they with him, he transported himself into England ; having sowed such seed of dissension there, as grew up too prosperously, and miserably divided the poor colony into several factions, and divisions, and persecutions of each other, which still continue to the great prejudice of that plantation : insomuch as some of them, upon the ground of the first expedition, liberty of conscience, have withdrawn themselves from their jurisdiction, and obtained other charters from the king, by which, in other forms of government, they have enlarged their plantation, within new limits adjacent to the other. He was no sooner returned into England, than he seemed to be

much reformed from his extravagancies, and with his father's approbation and direction, married a lady of a good family, and by his father's credit with the earl of Northumberland, who was high admiral of England, was joined presently and jointly with sir William Russel, in office of treasurer of the navy, (a place of great trust and profit,) which he equally shared with the other, and seemed a man well satisfied and composed to the government. When his father received the disobligation from the lord Strafford, by his being created baron of Raby, the house and land of Vane, (which title he had promised himself, but it was unluckily cast upon the earl, purely out of contempt of Vane,) they sucked in all the thoughts of revenge imaginable; and from thence the son betook himself to the friendship of Mr Pym and all other discontented or seditious persons, and contributed all that intelligence (which will hereafter be mentioned, as he himself will often be) that designed the ruin of the earl, and which grafted him in the entire confidence of those who promoted the same; so that nothing was concealed from him though it is believed that he communicated his own thoughts to very few.

12. THE ARCHBISHOP AND THE PAMPHLETEERS

[*Troubles and Trials of William Laud*]

The Long Parliament followed up their impeachment of Strafford by impeaching Archbishop Laud, at the beginning of 1641. In this and the following section Laud gives his own account of the charges brought against him.

The House of Commons accused me of high treason and I was committed to Custody to Mr James Maxwell, the Officer of the Upper House. When they had lodg'd me here, I was follow'd with sharpness in both Houses, upon all Occasions of any Complaint made against the proceedings at Council-Table, Star Chamber, High-Commission or any place, or thing, in which I had ought to do. Nothing omitted by some cunning Agents, which might increase the Rage and Hatred of the People against me. The chief Instruments herein were the *Brownists* and they which adhered unto them; who were highly offended with me, because I hindred, and Punished (as by Law I might) their Conventicles, and Separation from the Church of England. And though I pitied them (as God knows from my very Heart); yet because necessity of Government forc'd me to some Punishment, their Malignity never gave me over.

Among and above the rest, there were three men, Mr Henry Burton, a Minister Beneficed in Friday-street in London, Dr John Bastwick, a Phisician, and Mr William Pryn, a Common Lawyer, who were censured Junii 14. 1637. in the Star-Chamber, for notorious Libels, Printed, and Published by them against the Hierarchy of the Church. They were then and there

sentenced to stand in the Pillory and lose their Ears ; and because they should not stay farther to infect London, they were sent away by Order of that Court ; Mr Burton to Garnsey, Dr Bastwick to Silly, and Mr Pryn to Jersy. In the giving of this Sentence I spake my Conscience, and was after commanded to Print my Speech. But I gave no Vote ; because they had fallen so personally upon me, that I doubted many men might think Spleen and not Justice, led me to it. Nor was it my Counsel that advised their sending into those remote parts. The Brownists, and the preciser Part of the Kingdom, were netled at this : and the Anger turned upon me, tho' I were the Patient all along. For they had published most venomous Libels against me ; and I did but shew such as came to my Hands to the State, and there left them to do what they pleased in it. But that for which they were Sentenced, was a Book Written by Mr Burton, and Printed and sent by himself to the Lords sitting in Council ; and a Litany, and other Scandalous things, scattered, and avowed by Dr Bastwick and things of like nature by Mr Pryn. And he was thought to deserve less Favour than the rest ; because he had been censured before in that great Court, for gross abuses of the Queens Gracious Majesty, and the Government, in his Book Intituled *Histrionastix*

This Censure being past upon these Men, though I did no more than is before mentioned, yet they, and that Faction continued all manner of Malice against me : And I had Libel upon Libel, scattered in the Streets, and pasted upon Posts. And upon Friday July 7. 1637, a Note was brought to me of a short Libel, pasted on the Cross in Cheapside, that the Archwolf of Canterbury had his Hand in persecuting the Saints, and

A SUMMARY

COLLECTION

Of the principal

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS,

LIBERTIES, PROPRIETIES

OF ALL

English Freemen'

Both in their Persons, Estates, and Elections; and of the memorable *Votes*, *Resolutions*, and *Acts* of Parliament, for their vindication and Corroboration, in the late Parliaments of 3 & 17 of King Charles; collected out of their *Journals*, and printed *Ordinances*.

Most necessary to be known, considered, re-established (in this present juncture of *Publick Affairs*) with all possible old and new *securities*; against past, present, and future publick *Violations*, *Under-minings*, by force or fraud, for the much-desired *healing* of the manifold large mortal wounds in these chief *Vital* parts, and repairing the various *destructive* Breaches in these prime foundations of our English State-Fabric; without which no effectual present or future *Healing*, *Union*, *Peace*, or *settlement* can possibly be expected, or established in our distracted Nations.

By William Prynne of Swainswick Esq, a Bench-er of Lincolns Inne.

Jer. 9. 21. Is there no Balm in Gilead? is there no Physician there? why then is not the health of the Daughter of my people recovered.
Jer. 51. 8. Take Balm for her pain, if so be she may be healed.
1 Chron 19. 13. Be of good courage, and let us behave our selves valiantly for our people, and for the Cities of our God; and let the Lord do that which is good in his sight.

London, Printed for the Author, 1656.

shedding the blood of the Martyrs. Now what kind of Saints and Martyrs these were, may appear by their libellous Writings; Courses with which Saints and Martyrs were never acquainted. And most certain it is, that howsoever the Times went then, or go now, yet in Queen Elizabeth's Time, Penry was Hanged, and Udal condemned and Dyed in Prison for less than is contained in Mr Burton's Book; as will be evident to any Man that compares their Writings together. And these Saints would have lost their Lives, had they done that against any other State Christian, which they did against this. And I have yet one of the desperate Libels by me, that hath ordinarily been seen, which was sealed up in form of a Letter, and sent to me by Mr Pryn with his Name on it: And but that it is exceedingly long, and from the present business, I would here have inserted it.

To return then: The Faction of the *Brownists* and these three Saints, with their Adherents (for they were now set at liberty by the House of Commons and brought into London in great Triumph) filled the Press almost daily, with Ballads and Libels, full of all manner of Scurrility, and more Untruth, both against my Person, and my calling. These were cried about London-streets, and brought (many of them) to Westminster, and given into divers Lords' Hands, and into the Hands of the Gentlemen of the House of Commons: And yet no Order taken by either House to suppress the Printing of such known and shameless Lycs, as most of them contained: A thing which many sober Men found much fault withall, and which (I believe) hath hardly been seen, or suffered, in any Civil Commonwealth, Christian or other. But when I saw the Houses of Parliament so

regardless of their own Honour, to suffer these base and Barbarous Courses against an Innocent Man and as then not so much as Charged in general ; I thought fit to arm my self with Patience, and endure that which I could not help. And by God's blessing I did so ; though it grieved me much more for my Calling, than for my Person. And this spreading of Libellons, Base Pamphlets continues to this Day without controul ; and how long it will continue to the Shame of the Nation, I cannot tell.

13. FUNDAMENTAL LAWS

[*Troubles and Trials of William Laud*]

See heading of Section 12.

Article i against William Laud, that he hath Trayterously endeavoured to subvert the Fundamental Laws and Government of the Kingdom : And instead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government against Law : And to that end hath wickedly and Trayterously advised His Majesty, that he might at his own Will and Pleasure Lery and take Money of his Subjects without their consent in Parliament. And this he affirmed, was warrantable by the Law of God....

I did never endeavour to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom of England ; nor so introduce an Arbitrary or Tyrannical Government, contrary to Law. I could not endeavour this ; my knowledge and judgement going ever against an Arbitrary Government, in Comparison of that which is settled by Law. I learned

so much long ago, out of *Aristotle* ; and his Reasons are too good to be gone against. And ever since I had the honour to sit at the Council Table, I kept my self as much to the Law as I could ; and followed the Judgement of those great Lawyers which then sat at the Board. And upon all References which came from His Majesty, if I were one, I left those freely to the Law, who were not willing to have their business ended any other way. And this the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Council Learned, which attended their Clients Causes, can plentifully witness.

I did never advise his Majesty, that he might at his own Will and Pleasure levy Money of his Subjects without their Consent in Parliament. Nor do I remember that ever I affirmed any such thing, as is Charged in the Article. But I do believe, that I may have said something to this effect following : That howsoever it stands by the Law of God, for a King, in the just and necessary defence of him self and his Kingdom, to levy Money of his subjects, yet where a particular National Law doth intervene in any Kingdom and is settled by mutual consent between the King and his People, there Moneys ought to be Levied by and according to that Law. And by God's Law, and the same law of the Land, I humbly conceive, the Subjects, so met in Parliament, ought to supply their Prince, when there is just and necessary cause. And if an Absolute necessity do happen by Invasion, or otherwise, which gives no time for Counsel of Law, such a Necessity (but no pretended one) is above all Law. And I have heard the greatest Lawyers in this Kingdom confess ; that in times of such Necessity, The King's Legal Prerogative is as great as this.

And since here is of late such a noise made about the Subversion of the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and Men's lives called this way in question ; 'tis very requisite, that these Fundamental Laws were known to all Men : That so they may see the danger, before they run upon it : Whereas now, the Common Laws of England have no Text at all. In so much, that many, who would think themselves wronged, if they were not accounted good Lawyers, cannot in many points assure a Man what the Law is. And by this means, the Judges have liberty to retain more *in Scrinio Pectoris*, than is fitting ; and which comes a little too near that Arbitrary Government, so much and so justly found fault with : Whereas there is no Kingdom (that I know) that hath a settled Government, but it hath also a Text, or a *Corpus Juris* of the Laws written, save England. So here shall be as great a punishment, as is any where, for the breach of the Laws, and no Text on them for a Man's direction. And under favour, I think it were a work worthy a Parliament, to Command some prime Lawyers, to draw up a Body of the Common Law, and then have it carefully Examined by all the Judges of the Realm, and thoroughly weighed by both Houses, and then have this Book Declared and Confirmed by an Act of Parliament, as containing the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. And then let any Man go to Subvert them at his Peril.

14. THE DEATH OF STRAFFORD

[CLARENDON, *History of the Great Rebellion*]

HAVING impeached Strafford, the Commons found that the charges against him could not be legally construed as treason. Therefore a Bill of Attainder, in effect condemning him to die as a public enemy, was passed through both Houses. It could only become valid, like any other Act of Parliament, by receiving the royal assent. In spite of solemn pledges given to Strafford, the king did not dare to refuse his assent, and Strafford was executed.

The next day great multitudes of people came down to Westminster, and crowded about the house of peers, exclaiming with great outcries, "that they would have justice"; and publicly reading the names of those who had dissented from that bill in the house of commons, as enemies to their country; and as any lord passed by, called, "Justice, justice"! and with great rudeness and insolence, pressing upon, and thrusting, those lords whom they suspected not in favour of that bill; professing aloud, that they would be governed and disposed by the honourable house of commons, and would defend their privileges according to their late protestation. These unheard of acts of insolence and sedition continued so many days, till many lords grew so really apprehensive of having their brains beaten out, that they absented themselves from the house; and others, finding what seconds the house of commons was like to have to compass whatever they desired, changed their minds and so in an afternoon, when of the fourscore who had been present at the trial, there were only six and forty lords in the house, (the good people still crying at the doors for justice,) they put the bill to the question, and

eleven lords only dissenting, it passed that house, and was ready for the king's assent.

The king continued as resolved as ever, not to give his consent. The same oratory then attended him at Whitehall, which had prevailed at Westminster; and a rabble of many thousand people besieged that place, crying, "Justice, justice; that they would have justice"; not without great and insolent threats and expressions, what they would do, if it were not speedily granted. The privy council was called together, to advise what course was to be taken to suppress these traitorous riots. Instead of considering how to rescue their master's honour and his conscience, they press the king to pass the bill of attainder, saying, "there was no other way to preserve himself and his posterity, than by so doing; and therefore that he ought to be more tender of the safety of the kingdom, than of any one person how innocent soever": not one counsellor interposing his opinion, to support his master's magnanimity and innocence: they who were of that mind either suppressing their thoughts through fear, upon the new doctrine established then by the new counsellors, "that no man ought to presume to advise anything in that place contrary to the sense of both houses"; others sadly believing, the force and violence offered to the king would be, before God and man, a just excuse for whatsoever he should do.

His majesty told them, that what had been proposed to him to do, was directly contrary to his conscience, and that being so, he was sure they would not persuade him to it, though themselves desired him, "to confer with his bishops, who, they made no question, would better inform his conscience." The archbishop

of York was at hand ; who, to his argument of conscience, told him, “that there was a private and a public conscience ; that his public conscience as a king might not only dispense with, but oblige him to do that which was against his private conscience as a man : and that the question was not, whether he should save the earl of Strafford, but, whether he should perish with him : that the conscience of a king to preserve his kingdom, the conscience of a husband to preserve his wife, the conscience of a father to preserve his children, (all which were now in danger,) weighed down abundantly all the considerations the conscience of a master or a friend could suggest to him, for the preservation of a friend, or a servant.” And by such unprelatical, ignominious arguments, in plain terms advised him, “even for conscience sake, to pass that act.”

Though this bishop acted his part with more prodigious boldness and impiety, others of the same function (for whose learning and sincerity the king and the world had great reverence) did not what might have been expected from their calling or their trust ; but at least forbore to fortify and confirm a conscience, upon the courage and piety of which, the security of their persons and their order did absolutely, under God depend.

During these perplexities, the earl of Strafford, taking notice of the straits the king was in, the rage of the people still increasing, (from whence he might expect a certain outrage and ruin, how constant soever the king continued to him ; and, it may be, knowing of an undertaking (for such an undertaking there was) by a great person, who had then a command in the Tower, “that if the king refused to pass the bill, to free the

kingdom from the hazard it seemed to be in, he would cause his head to be stricken off in the Tower;”) writ a most pathetical letter to the king, full of acknowledgement of his favours, but lively representing the dangers which threatened himself and his posterity, by the king’s persevering in those favours; and therefore by many arguments conjuring him “no longer to defer his assent to the bill, that so his death might free the kingdom from the many troubles it apprehended.”

The delivery of this letter being quickly known, new arguments were applied; “that this free consent of his own clearly absolved the king from any scruple that could remain with him”; and so in the end they extorted from him, to sign a commission to some lords to pass the bill: which was as valid as if he had passed it himself; though they comforted him even with that circumstance, “that his own hand was not in it.”

It may easily be said that the freedom of the parliament, and his own negative voice, being thus barbarously invaded, if his majesty had, instead of passing that act, come to the house and dissolved the parliament; or if he had withdrawn himself from that seditious city, and put himself in the head of his own army; much of the mischief, which hath since happened, would have been prevented. But whoever truly considers the state of affairs at that time; the prevalency of that faction in both houses; the rage and fury of the people; the use that was made by the schismatical preachers (by whom the orthodox were generally silenced) of the late protestation in their pulpits; the fears and jealousies they had infused into the minds of many sober men, upon the discourse of the late plot; the constitution of the council-table, that there was

scarce an honest man durst speak his conscience to the king, for fear of his ruin, and that those whom he thought most true to him betrayed him every hour, insomuch as his whispers in his bedchamber were instantly conveyed to those against whom those whispers were ; so that he had very few men to whom he could breathe his conscience and complaints, that were not suborned against him, or averse to his opinions ; that on the other side, if some expedient were not speedily found out, to allay that frantic rage and combination in the people, there was reason enough to believe, their impious hands would be lifted against his own person, and (which he much more apprehended) against the person of his royal consort : and lastly, that (besides the difficulty of getting thither) he had no ground to be very confident of his own army : I say, whoever sadly contemplates this, will find cause to confess, the part which the king had to act was not only harder than any prince, but than any private gentleman, had been exposed to ; and that it is much easier, upon the accidents and occurrences which have since happened, to determine what was not to have been done, than at any time to have foreseen, by what means to have freed himself from the labyrinth in which he was involved.

All things being thus transacted, to conclude the fate of this great person, he was on the twelfth day of May brought from the Tower of London (where he had been a prisoner near six months,) to the scaffold on Tower-hill ; where, with a composed, undaunted courage, he told the people, “he was come thither to satisfy them with his head ; but that he much feared, the reformation which was begun in blood would not prove so fortunate to the kingdom, as they had expected, and he wished” :

and after great expression “of his devotion to the church of England, and the protestant religion established by law, and professed in that church ; of his loyalty to the king, and affection to the peace and welfare of the kingdom” ; with marvellous tranquillity of mind, he delivered his head to the block, where it



Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford

was severed from his body at a blow : many of the standers by who had not been over charitable to him in his life, being much affected with the courage and Christianity of his death.

Thus fell the greatest subject in power, and little inferior to any in fortune, that was at that time in any

of the three kingdoms ; who could well remember the time, when he led those people, who then pursued him to his grave. He was a man of great parts, and extraordinary endowments of nature, not unadorned with some addition of art and learning, though that again was more improved and illustrated by the other ; for he had a readiness of conception, and sharpness of expression, which made his learning thought more than in truth it was. His first inclinations and addresses to the court were only to establish his greatness in the country where he apprehended some acts of power from the lord Savile, who had been his rival always there, and of late had strengthened himself by being made a privy-counsellor, and officer at court : but his first attempts were so prosperous, that he contented not himself with being secure from that lord's power in the country, but rested not, till he had bereaved his adversary of all power and place in court ; and so sent him down, a most abject, disconsolate old man, to his country, where he was to have the superintendency over him too, by getting himself at that time made lord president of the north. These successes, applied to a nature too elate and haughty of itself, and a quicker progress into the greatest employments and trust, made him more transported with disdain of other men, and more contemning the forms of business, than happily¹ he would have been, if he had met with some interruptions in the beginning, and had passed in a more leisurely gradation to the office of a statesman.

He was, no doubt, of great observation, and a piercing judgement, both in things and persons ; but his too good skill in persons made him judge the worse

¹ Happly.

of things : for it was his misfortune to be in a time wherein very few wise men were equally employed with him ; and scarce any (but the lord Coventry, whose trust was more confined) whose faculties and abilities were equal to his : so that upon the matter he relied wholly upon himself ; and discerning many defects in most men, he too much neglected what they said or did. Of all his passions, his pride was most predominant : which a moderate exercise of ill fortune might have corrected and reformed ; and which was by the hand of Heaven strangely punished, by bringing his destruction upon him by two things that he most despised, the people and sir Harry Vane. In a word, the epitaph, which Plutarch records that Sylla wrote for himself, may not be unfitly applied to him ; “that no man did ever exceed him, either in doing good to his friends, or in doing mischief to his enemies” ; for his acts of both kinds were most notorious.

CHAPTER II

CIVIL WAR AND COMMONWEALTH. 1641—1660

AUTHORITIES CITED.

- (1) CLARENDON : see authorities for Chapter I.
- (2) LUCY HUTCHINSON wrote the *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, her husband, a distinguished officer in the army of the Parliament.
- (3) OLIVER CROMWELL's letters and speeches were collected, from the records, by Thomas Carlyle.
- (4) ANDREW MARVELL, friend of Milton, poet and man of affairs, is almost certainly the author of the Ode here ascribed to him. His enthusiasm for Cromwell did not prevent him from appreciating Charles I.

1. AFTER STRAFFORD'S DEATH

[*Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*]

The events of the twelve months after Strafford's death are described by the wife of John Hutchinson, who became a prominent officer in the Puritan army.

While this parliament was sitting, the king would needs, contrary to their desires, take a journey to Scotland, and passed by the two disbanding armies in his journey, where some report that he secretly attempted to urge the Scotch army against the parliament, which then succeeded not. The houses had

adjourned for some time, and left a standing committee of fifty to prepare business. About that time a plot was discovered to them from Scotland, against the lives of some of the greatest peers of that kingdom; the committee fearing the like attempts from the same spring, placed strong guards in divers parts of the city of London. The king's design in going to Scotland was variously conjectured; but this was certain of it, that it retarded all the affairs of the government of England, which the king had put into such disorder that it was not an easy task to reform what was amiss, and redress the real grievances of the people; but yet the parliament showed such a wonderful respect to the king, that they never mentioned him, as he was the sole author of all those miscarriages, but imputed them to evil counsellors, and gave him all the submissive language that could have been used to a good prince, fixing all the guilt upon his evil counsellors and ministers of state, which flattery I fear they have to answer for: I am sure they have thereby exposed themselves to much scandal. While the king was in Scotland, that cursed rebellion in Ireland broke out, wherein above 200,000 were massacred in two months' space, being surprised, and many of them most inhumanly butchered and tormented; and besides the slain, abundance of poor families, stripped and sent naked away out of all their possessions; and, had not the providence of God miraculously prevented the surprise of Dublin Castle the night it should have been seized, there had not been any remnant of the protestant name left in that country. As soon as this sad news came to the parliament, they vigorously set themselves to the work of relieving them; but then the king returned from Scotland, and being

sumptuously welcomed home by the city, took courage thereby against the parliament, and obstructed all its proceedings for the effectual relief of Ireland. Long was he before he could be drawn to proclaim these murderers rebels, and when he did, by special command, there were but forty proclamations printed, and care was taken that they should not be much dispersed ; which course afflicted all the good protestants in England, and confirmed them that the rebellion in Ireland received countenance from the king and queen of England. The parliament, beset with so many difficulties, were forced, for their own vindication, to present the king with a petition and a remonstrance on the state of the kingdom, wherein they spared him as much as truth would bear, and complained only of his ill counsellors and ministers ; but this, instead of admonishing, exasperated him, and was answered with another declaration of his ; and upon several occasions the parliament being enforced to justify their proceedings publicly, and the king setting forth replies, these open debates were but the prologue to the ensuing tragedy. The city, declaring their good affections to the parliament by a petition, gave the king distrust, and he was observed to entertain an extraordinary guard of cavaliers, who killed and wounded some of the poor unarmed men that passed by his house at Whitehall ; and the parliament, conceiving themselves not safe, desired a guard might be allowed them under the command of the Earl of Essex ; but he refused it, with an assurance that he would command such a guard to wait upon them as he would be responsible to Almighty God for, and that the safety of all and every one of them was as dear to him as that of his own person and

children. Yet the very next day after this false message, he came to the House of Commons, attended with his extraordinary guard, of about four hundred gentlemen and soldiers, armed with swords and pistols, and there demanded five of their members, whom not finding there (for a great lady at court had before informed one of them of his coming and the house ordered them to retire) he returned, leaving the house under a high



Hampton Court

sense of this breach of their privilege. At this time the people began in great numbers to bring petitions to the king and parliament, to beg a more cheerful concurrence between them for the relief of Ireland, and to encourage the parliament in their honourable endeavours for the relief of both kingdoms. The king was offended at this, and retired first to Hampton Court, then went with the queen to Canterbury, whom he sent from thence into

Holland with her daughter, lately married to the Prince of Orange, under pretence of conducting her to her own court, but really to manage his business abroad, and procure arms to be employed against the parliament, by the sale of the crown jewels, which she carried over with her. After her departure, the king, taking the prince and the Duke of York with him, went to Theobalds, whither the parliament sent a petition to him to return to his parliament and abide near London, and that he would grant the militia of the kingdom to be put into such hands as the parliament should recommend, and might confide in ; all which he denied, and went immediately to Newmarket, and from thence to York ; all this while, by many false pretences, really obstructing the relief of bleeding Ireland, and seducing many of the poor people of England into blood and ruin.

2. THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE

[CLARENDON, *History of the Great Rebellion*]

Until the fall of Strafford the Long Parliament was almost united in its constitutional demands. But a cleavage was imminent between those members who were devoted to the Anglian Church, and those who were vehemently opposed to it. The former group were moderate constitutionalists, while the latter aimed at the almost unqualified supremacy of Parliament. The rupture between the parties was completed by the introduction of the Grand Remonstrance.

By these and the like arts, they promised themselves, that they should easily carry it : so that the day it was to be resumed, they entertained the House all the morning with other debates, and towards noon called for the Remonstrance ; and it being urged by some,

“that it was too late to enter upon it,” with much difficulty they consented, “that it should be entered upon the next morning at nine of the clock ; and every clause should be debated, the Speaker in the chair” ; for they would not have the house resolved into a committee, which they believed would spend too much time. Oliver Cromwell, (who, at that time, was little taken notice of) asked the lord Falkland, “Why he would have it put off, for that day would quickly have determined it?” He answered, “There would not have been time enough, for sure it would take some debate.” The other replied, “A very sorry one” : they supposing, by the computation they had made, that very few would oppose it.

But he quickly found he was mistaken : for the next morning, the debate being entered upon about nine of the clock, it continued all that day, and candles being called for when it grew dark, (neither side being very desirous to adjourn it till the next day, though it was evident very many withdrew themselves out of pure faintness and disability to attend the conclusion,) the debate continued, till it was after twelve of the clock, with much passion ; and the house being then divided, upon the passing or not passing it, it was carried for the affirmative, by nine voices, and no more : and as soon as it was declared, Mr Hampden moved, “that there might be an order entered for the present printing it” ; which produced a sharper debate than the former. It appeared then that they did not intend to send it up to the house of peers for their concurrence ; but that it was upon the matter an appeal to the people ; and to infuse jealousies into their minds. It had seldom been the custom to publish any debates, or determinations of the

house, which were not regularly first transmitted to the house of peers ; nor was it thought, in truth, that the house had authority to give warrant for the printing of any thing ; all which was offered by Mr Hyde, with some warmth, as soon as the motion was made for the printing it : and he said, “ he believed the printing it in that manner was not lawful ; and he feared it would produce mischievous effects ; and therefore desired the leave of the house, that if the question should be put, and be carried in the affirmative, that he might have liberty to enter his protestation ” ; which he no sooner said, than Jeffrey Palmer (a man of great reputation, and much esteemed in the house) stood up, and made the same motion for himself, “ that he might likewise protest.” Many afterwards, without distinction, and in some disorder cried out together, “ They did protest ” : so that there was after scarce any quiet and regular debate. But the House by degrees being quieted, they all consented, about two of the clock in the morning, to adjourn till two of the clock the next afternoon. And as they went out of the House, the lord Falkland asked Oliver Cromwell, “ whether there had been a debate ” ? to which he answered, “ he would take his word another time ” ; and whispered him in the ear, with some asseveration, “ that if the remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more ; and he knew there were many other honest men of the same resolution.” So near was the poor kingdom at that time to its deliverance.

3. CHARACTER OF LORD FALKLAND

[CLARENDON, *History of the Great Rebellion*]

Lucius Carey, Lord Falkland, was a leader of the Moderates. Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, was intimately associated with him and drew this character of him.

In this unhappy battle was slain the lord viscount Falkland; a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war, than that single loss, it must be most infamous, and execrable to all posterity.

Before this parliament, his condition of life was so happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to be twenty years of age, he was master of a noble fortune, which descended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without passing through his father or mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented to find themselves passed by in the descent. His education for some years had been in Ireland, where his father was lord deputy; so that, when he returned into England, to the possession of his fortune, he was unentangled with any acquaintance or friends, which usually grow up by the custom of conversation; and therefore was to make a pure election of his company; which he chose by other rules than were prescribed to the young nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to his friendship for the agreeableness of their nature,

and their undoubted affection to him, that his familiarity and friendship, for the most part, was with men of the most eminent and sublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity ; and such men had a title to his bosom.

He was a great cherisher of wit and fancy, and good parts in any man ; and, if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a most liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune ; of which, in those administrations, he was such a dispenser, as, if he had been trusted with it to such use, and if there had been the least of vice in his expense, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolved to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were necessary to that end. And therefore having once resolved not to see London which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek tongue, he went to his own house in the country, and pursued it with that indefatigable industry, that it will not be believed in how short a time he was master of it, and accurately read all the Greek historians.

In this time, his house being within little more than ten miles of Oxford, he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men of that university ; who found such an immenseness of wit, and such a solidity of judgment in him, so infinite a fancy, bound in by a most logical ratiocination, such a vast knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility, as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted, and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in a purer air ; so that his house was a university in a less volume ; whither they

came not so much for repose as study ; and to examine and refine those grosser propositions, which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation.

Many attempts were made upon him by the instigation of his mother (who was a lady of another persuasion in religion, and of a most masculine understanding, allayed with the passion and infirmities of her own sex), to pervert him in his piety to the church of England, and to reconcile him to that of Rome ; which they prosecuted with the more confidence, because he declined no opportunity or occasion of conference with those of that religion, whether priests or laies ; having diligently studied the controversies, and exactly read all, or the choicest of the Greek and Latin fathers, and having a memory so stupendous, that he remembered on all occasions, whatsoever he read. And he was so great an enemy to that passion and uncharitableness, which he saw produced, by difference of opinion, in matters of religion, that in all those disputations with priests, and others of the Roman church, he affected to manifest all possible civility to their persons, and estimation of their parts, which made them retain still some hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reasons to him to that purpose. But this charity towards them was much lessened, and any correspondence with them quite declined, when, by sinister arts, they had corrupted his two younger brothers, being both children, stolen them from his house, and transported them beyond seas, and perverted his sisters : upon which occasion he writ two large discourses against the principal positions of that religion, with that sharpness of style, and full weight of reason, that the church is deprived of great jewels in the

concealment of them, and that they are not published to the world.

He was superior to all those passions and affections which attend vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men ; and that made him too much a contemner of those arts, which must be indulged in the transactions of human affairs.

4. AN ANABAPTIST OFFICER

[OLIVER CROMWELL'S *Letters*]

The Civil War began in the late summer of 1642. During the first two years the predominant Presbyterian influence almost reserved commands and offices of trust in the parliamentary army to orthodox Presbyterians. Cromwell protested that so long as a man was "godly" and a good soldier, those facts were of much more importance than his Presbyterian orthodoxy. Cromwell dates his letter March 10th, 1643, because, according to the Old Style of reckoning, the New Year did not begin till Lady Day, March 25. But as we reckon January 1 New Year's Day, this letter was written in March 1644 (New Style).

To Major-General Crawford: These.

CAMBRIDGE, 10th *March* 1643.

SIR,

The complaints you preferred to my Lord against your Lieutenant-Colonel, both by Mr Lee and your own Letters, have occasioned his stay here :—my Lord being so employed, in regard of many occasions which are upon him, that he hath not been at leisure to hear him make his defence ; which, in pure justice, ought to be granted him or any man before a judgment be passed upon him.

During his abode here and absence from you, he hath acquainted me what a grief it is to him to be absent from his charge, especially now the regiment is called forth to action : and therefore, asking me of my opinion, I advised him speedily to repair unto you. Surely you are not well advised thus to turn off one so faithful to the Cause, and so able to serve you as this man is. Give me leave to tell you, I cannot be of your judgment ; cannot understand, if a man notorious for wickedness, for oaths, for drinking, hath as great a share in your affection as one who fears an oath, who fears to sin ;—that this doth command your election of men to serve as fit instruments in this work !—

Ay, but that man “is an Anabaptist.” Are you sure of that ? Admit he be, shall that render him incapable to serve the Public ? “He is indiscreet.” It may be so, in some things : we have all human infirmities. I tell you, if you had none but such indiscreet men about you, and would be pleased to use them kindly, you would find as good a fence to you as any you have yet chosen.

Sir, the State, in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions ; if they be willing faithfully to serve it,—that satisfies. I advised you formerly to bear with men of different minds from yourself : if you had done it when I advised you to it, I think you would not have had so many stumbling blocks in your way. It may be you judge otherwise ; but I tell you my mind—I desire you would receive this man into your favour and good opinion. I believe, if he follow my counsel, he will deserve no other but respect from you. Take heed of being sharp, or too easily sharpened by others, against those to whom you can object little but that

they square not with you in every opinion concerning matters of religion. If there be any other offence to be charged against him,—that must in a judicial way receive determination. I know you will not think it fit my Lord should discharge an Officer of the Field but in a regulate way. I question whether you or I have any precedent for that.

I have not further to trouble you :—but rest,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

5. THE PRESBYTERIANS TURN ON THE ARMY

[*Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*]

In the beginning of 1645 Cromwell got his way and the new Model Army was constructed, in which Presbyterian orthodoxy was disregarded. The bulk of the army and its officers were either Independents or members of miscellaneous sects, or broad Presbyterians who desired equal liberty for all sects. The rigid Presbyterians were still dominant in the Parliament at Westminster, and after hostilities were over they tried to make a compact with the king which would have secured a Presbyterian ascendancy and the suppression of other noneconforming sects.

The country being now cleared of all the enemy's garrisons, Colonel Hutchinson went up to London, to attend his duty there, and to serve his country as faithfully, in the capacity of a senator, as he had before in that of a soldier. When he came there he found a very bitter spirit of discord and envy raging, and the presbyterian faction (of which were most of those lords and others that had been laid aside by the self-denying ordinance), were endeavouring a violent persecution, upon the

account of conscience against those who had in so short a time accomplished, by God's blessing, that victory which he was not pleased to bestow upon them. Their directory of worship was at length sent forth for a three years' trial, and such as could not conform to it marked out with an evil eye, hated and persecuted under the name of separatists. Colonel Hutchinson, who abhorred that malicious zeal and imposing spirit which appeared in them, was soon taken notice of for one of the independent faction. Though, to speak the truth, they very little knew Colonel Hutchinson that could say he was of any faction ; for he had a strength of judgment able to consider things himself and propound them to his conscience, which was so upright that the veneration of no man's person alive, nor the love of the dearest friend in the world, could make him do the least thing without a full persuasion that it was his duty so to act. He very well understood men's gifts and abilities, and honoured those most whom he believed to manage them with most uprightness of soul, for God's glory and the good of his country, and was so far from envying the just renown any man acquired that he rejoiced in it. He never was any man's sectary, either in religious or civil matters, farther than he apprehended them to follow the rules of religion, honour, and virtue ; nor any man's antagonist, but as he opposed that which appeared to him to be just and equal. If the greatest enemy he had in the world had propounded anything profitable to the public, he would promote it ; whereas some others were to blame in that particular, and chiefly those of the presbyterian faction, who would obstruct any good rather than that those they envied and hated should have the glory of procuring it ; the sad effects of which pride

grew at length to be the ruin of the most glorious cause that ever was contended for. At the first, many gentlemen, eminent in gifts and acquirements, were as eminent in zealous improvement of them, for the advantage of God's and their country's interests, whereby they obtained just glory and admiration among all good men; but while the creature was so magnified, God, who was the principal author, was not looked upon, and gave them therefore up to become their own and others' idols, and so to fall.

And now it grew to be a sad wonder, that the most zealous promoters of the cause were more spitefully carried against their own faithful armies, by whom God had perfected their victory over their enemies, than against the vanquished foe, whose restitution they henceforth secretly endeavoured, by all the arts of treacherous, dissembling policy, in order that they might throw down those whom God had exalted in glory and power to resist their tyrannical impositions. At that time, and long after, they prevailed not, until that pious people too began to admire themselves, for what God had done by them, and to set up themselves above their brethren, and then the Lord humbled them again beneath their conquered vassals.

So long as the army only resisted unjust impositions, and remained firm to their first pious engagement, Mr Hutchinson adhered to that party, which protected them in the parliament house.

6. THE ARMY ASSERTS ITSELF

[*Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*]

The Army, determined not to be deprived of the religious liberty for which it had fought, at last took the law in its own hands, so far as to make Parliament feel that it was able and in fact was prepared to enforce its will.

In the meantime jealousies were sown between the parliament, the city of London, and the army. The presbyterian faction were earnest to have the army disbanded ; the army resented the injury, and, being



Pikeman and musketeer, 1645

taught to value their own merit, petitioned the general that they might be satisfied, not only in things relating to themselves particularly as an army, but the general concerns and liberties of the good people of the nation which they had fought for. The presbyterians were highly offended at this, and declared it with such violence as gave the army cause to increase their jealousies. The soldiers, led on to it by one Cornet

Joyce, took the king from Holmeby out of the parliament commissioners' hands, and carried him about with them. The parliament voted that the king should come to Richmond, attended by the same persons that attended him at Holmeby ; but the army, instead of obeying, impeached eleven members of the house of commons of high treason, and petitioned that those impeached members might be secluded the house, till they had brought in their answer to the charge ; which being violently debated, they made a voluntary secession for six months. The general also entreated that the king might not be brought nearer to London than they would suffer the army to quarter. So he was carried with them to Royston, Hatfield, Reading and at last to Woburn, till about July, 1647, when London grew into a tumult, and made a very rude violation upon the parliament house, which caused them to adjourn ; when, understanding the fury of the citizens, the greatest part of the members, with the Speaker, withdrew and went to the army, among whom was Colonel Hutchinson. The presbyterian members who stayed behind chose new Speakers, and made many new votes, and vigorously began to levy forces to resist the army, which were conducted by Massie and Poyntz. The parliament that was with the army made an order against the proceedings of the members of London, and advanced with the general ; which when the city heard of, their stomachs would not serve them to stand it out, but they sent commissioners, and by the consent of the members with the general, obtained a pacification, upon condition that the city should disband all their new forces, deliver up their tower and their forts to the general, and desert the members then sitting. They daring to deny nothing,

the general came triumphantly to Westminster, and brought back both the Speaker and the members, and put them again in their seats. The general had solemn thanks from both houses, and then, with all his chief officers, marched through the city, from the western parts of it to the tower, where many commands were changed, the presbyterian party depressed, and their generals, Poyntz and Massie, with all the remaining officers of that faction, forced to retire ; who most of them then changed their party, and never more appeared on the parliament side. Yet there was still a presbyterian faction left in the house, of such as were moderate, and were not by the bitterness of their zeal carried on to break their covenant with God and men, and to renew a league with the popish interest, to destroy that godly interest which they had at first so gloriously asserted. After this tumult at London was quieted, about August of that year the king was brought to one of his stately palaces at Hampton Court, near London, and the army removed to quarters about the city, their head-quarters being at Putney. The king, by reason of his daily converse with the officers, had begun tampering with them, not only then but before, and had drawn in some of them to engage to corrupt others to fall in with him ; but to speak the truth of all Cromwell was at that time so incorruptibly faithful to his trust and to the people's interest, that he could not be drawn in to practise even his own usual and natural dissimulation on this occasion. His son-in-law Ireton, who was as faithful as he, was not so fully of the opinion (till he had tried it and found to the contrary) but that the king might have been managed to comply with the public good of his people, after he could no longer uphold his own violent will ; but, upon

some discourses with him, the king uttering these words to him, "I shall play my game as well as I can," Ireton replied, "If your majesty have a *game* to play, you must give us also the liberty to play ours." Colonel Hutchinson privately discoursing with his cousin about the communications he had had with the king, Ireton's expressions were these; "He gave us words, and we paid in his own coin, when we found he had no real intention to the people's good, but to prevail by our factions, to regain by art what he had lost in fight."

7. THE ARMY AND THE CITY

[OLIVER CROMWELL'S *Letters*]

The Army marched upon London in order forcibly to put a stop to the negotiations between the King and the Parliament. The council of officers addressed this letter to the Lord Mayor.

*To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen,
and Common Councell of the City of London.*

ROYSTON, 10th June 1647.

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND WORTHY FRIENDS,

Having, by our Letters and other Addresses endeavoured to give satisfaction of the clearness of our just Demands; And also, in Papers published by us, remonstrated the grounds of our proceedings in prosecution thereof;—all of which being published in print, we are confident have come to your hands, and received at least a charitable construction from you.

The sum of all these our Desires as Soldiers is no other than this: Satisfaction to our undoubted Claims as Soldiers; and reparation upon those who have, to the utmost, improved all opportunities and advantages,

by false suggestions, misrepresentations and otherwise, for the destruction of this Army with a perpetual blot of ignominy upon it. Which injury we should not value, if it singly concerned our own particular selves, being ready to deny ourselves in this, as we have done in other cases, for the Kingdom's good : but under this pretence, we find no less is involved than the overthrow of the privileges both of Parliament and People ; and that rather than they shall fail in their designs, or we receive what in the eyes of all good men is our just right, the kingdom is endeavoured to be engaged in a new War. And thus singly by those who, when the truth of these things shall be made to appear, will be found to be the authors of those said evils that are feared ; and who have no other way to protect themselves from question and punishment but by putting the kingdom into blood, under the pretence of their honour of and their love to the Parliament. As if that were dearer to them than to us ; or as if they had given greater proof of their faithfulness to it than we.

But we perceive that, under these veils and pretences, they seek to interest in their design the City of London : as if that City ought to make good their miscarriages, and should prefer a few self-seeking men before the welfare of the Public. And indeed we have found these men so active to accomplish their designs, and to have such apt instruments for their turn in that City, that we have cause to suspect they may engage many therein upon mistakes, which are easily swallowed, in times of such prejudices against them that have given (we may speak it without vanity) the most public testimony of their good affections to the Public, and to that City in particular.

For the thing we insist upon as Englishmen, and surely our being soldiers hath not stript us of that interest, although our malicious enemies would have it so, we desire a Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom and of the Liberties of the Subject, according to the Votes and Declarations of Parliament, which, before we took arms, were, by the Parliament, used as arguments and inducements to invite us and divers of our dear friends out ; some of whom have lost their lives in this War. Which being now, by God's blessing, finished, we think we have as much right to demand, and desire to see, a happy Settlement, as we have to our money, and the other common interest of Soldiers which we have insisted upon. We find also the ingenious and honest People, in almost all parts of the Kingdom where we come, full of the sense of ruin and misery if the Army should be disbanded before the Peace of the Kingdom, and those other things before mentioned, have a full and perfect Settlement.

We have said before, and profess it now, We desire no alteration of the Civil Government. As little do we desire to interrupt, or in the least intermeddle with, the settling of the Presbyterial Government. Nor did we seek to open a way for licentious liberty, under pretence of obtaining ease for tender consciences. We profess, as ever in these things, When once the State has made a Settlement, we have nothing to say but to submit or suffer. Only we could wish that every good citizen, and every man who walks peaceably in a blameless conversation, and is beneficial to the Commonwealth, might have liberty and encouragement ; this being according to the true policy of all States, and even to justice itself.

These in brief are our Desires, and the thing for

which we stand ; beyond which we shall not go. And for the obtaining of these things, we are drawing near your City ; professing sincerely from our hearts, That we intend not evil towards you ; declaring with all confidence and assurance, That if you appear not against us in these our just desires, to assist that wicked Party which would embroil us and the Kingdom, neither we nor our Soldiers shall give you the least offence. We come not to do any act to prejudice the being of Parliaments, or to the hurt of this Parliament in order to the present Settlement of the Kingdom. We seek the good of all. And we shall wait here or remove to a farther distance to abide there, if once we be assured that a speedy Settlement of things is in hand, until it be accomplished. Which done, we shall be most ready, either all of us, or so many of the Army as the Parliament shall think fit, to disband, or to go for Ireland.

And although you may suppose that a rich City may seem an enticing bait to poor hungry Soldiers to venture far to gain the wealth thereof, yet if not provoked by you, we do profess, Rather than any such evil should fall out, the soldiers shall make their way through our blood to effect it. And we can say this for most of them, for your better assurance, That they so little value their pay, in comparison of higher concernments to a Public Good, that rather than they will be unrighted in the matter of their honesty and integrity (which hath suffered by the Men they aim at, and desire justice upon) or want the settlement of the kingdom's Ppeace, and their fellow-subjects' liberties, they will lose all. Which may be a strong assurance to you that it's not your wealth they seek, but the things tending in common to your and their welfare. That they may gain these you shall

do like Fellow-Subjects and Brethren if you solicit the Parliament for them, on their behalf.

If after all this, you, or a considerable part of you, be seduced to take up arms in opposition to, or hindrance of, these our just undertakings, we hope we have, by this brotherly premonition, to the sincerity of which we call God to witness, freed ourselves from all that ruin which may befall that great and populous City ; having thereby washed our hands thereof.

We rest,

Your affectionate Friends to serve you,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.	HENRY IRETON.
OLIVER CROMWELL.	ROBERT LILBURN.
ROBERT HAMMOND.	JOHN DESBOROW.
THOMAS HAMMOND.	THOMAS RAINSBOROW.
HARDRESS WALLER.	JOHN LAMBERT.
NATHANIEL RICH.	THOMAS HARRISON.
THOMAS PRIDE.	

8. REGICIDE

[*Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*]

Cavalier risings in 1648, coupled with the knowledge of the intrigues of the Presbyterian majority in Parliament, drove the Army to resolve on the death of the king and the coercion of Parliament.

By this violent proceeding of the presbyterians they finished the destruction of him in whose restitution they were now so fiercely engaged, for this gave heart to the vanquished cavaliers, and such courage to the captive king that it hardened him and them to their ruin. On the other side, it so frightened all the honest people,

that it made them as violent in their zeal to pull down, as the others were in their madness to restore, this kingly idol ; and the army, who were principally levelled and marked out as the sacrifice and peace-offering of ungodly reconciliation, had some colour to pursue their late arrogant usurpations upon that authority which it was their duty rather to have obeyed than interrupted ; but the debates of that night, which produced such destructive votes to them and all their friends, being reported to them, they the next morning came and seized about [forty] of the members as they were going to the house, and carried them to a house hard by, where they were for the present kept prisoners. Most of the presbyterian faction, disgusted at this insolence, would no more come to their seats in the house ; but the gentlemen who were of the other faction, or of none at all, but looked upon themselves as called out to manage a public trust for their country, forsook not their seats while they were permitted to sit in the house.

After the purgation of the house, upon the new debate of the treaty¹ of the Isle of Wight, it was concluded dangerous to the realm and destructive to its better interest, and the trial of the king was determined. He was sent for to Westminster and a commission was given forth to a court of high justice, whereof Bradshaw, serjeant-at-law, was president, and divers honourable persons of the parliament, city, and army, nominated commissioners. Among them Colonel Hutchinson was one, who, very much against his own will, was put in ; but looking upon himself as called hereunto, durst not refuse it, as holding himself obliged by the covenant of God and the public trust of his country reposed in

¹ Between Parliament and the King.

him, although he was not ignorant of the danger he ran as the condition of things then was.

In January of 1648¹, the court sat, the king was brought to his trial, and a charge drawn up against him for levying war against the parliament and people of England, for betraying the public trust reposed in him, and for being an implacable enemy to the commonwealth. But the king refused to plead, disowning the authority of the court, and after three several days persisting in contempt thereof, he was sentenced to suffer death. One thing was remarked in him by many of the court, that when the blood spilt in many of the battles where he was in his own person, and had caused it to be shed by his own command, was laid to his charge, he heard it with disdainful smiles, and looks and gestures which rather expressed sorrow that all the opposite party to him were not cut off, than that any were ; and he stuck not to declare in words, that no man's blood spilt in this quarrel troubled him except one, meaning the Earl of Strafford. The gentlemen that were appointed his judges and divers others, saw in him a disposition so bent on the ruin of all that opposed him, and of all the righteous and just things they had contended for, that it was upon the consciences of many of them, that if they did not execute justice upon him, God would require at their hands all the blood and desolation which should ensue by their suffering him to escape, when God had brought him into their hands. Although the malice of the malignant part and their apostate brethren seemed to threaten them, yet they thought they ought to cast themselves upon God, while they acted with

¹ The official new year did not begin till March 25. But reckoning Jan. 1 as New Year's day, this is Jan. 1649.

a good conscience for him and for their country. Some of them afterwards, for excuse, belied themselves, and said they were under the awe of the army, and overpersuaded by Cromwell, and the like ; but it is certain that all men herein were left to their free liberty of acting, neither persuaded nor compelled ; and as there were some nominated in the commission who never sat, and others who sat at first, but durst not hold on, so all the rest might have declined it if they would, when it is apparent they would have suffered nothing by so doing. For those who then declined were afterwards, when they offered themselves, received in again, and had places of more trust and benefit than those who ran the utmost hazard, which they deserved not, for I know upon certain knowledge that many, yea the most of them, retreated, not for conscience, but from fear and worldly prudence, foreseeing that the insolency of the army might grow to that height as to ruin the cause, and reduce the kingdom into the hands of the enemy ; and then those who had been most courageous in their country's cause should be given up as victims. These poor men did privately animate those who appeared most publicly, and I knew several of them in whom I lived to see that saying of Christ fulfilled, "He that will save his life shall lose it, and he that for my sake will lose his life shall save it" ; when afterwards it fell out that all their prudent declensions saved not the lives of some nor the estates of others. As for Mr Hutchinson, although he was very much confirmed in his judgment concerning the cause, yet herein being called to an extraordinary action, whereof many were of several minds, he addressed himself to God by prayer ; desiring the Lord that, if through any human frailty he

were led into any error of false opinions in these great transactions, he would open his eyes, and not suffer him to proceed, but that he would confirm his spirit in the truth, and lead him by a right enlightened conscience ; and finding no check but a confirmation in his conscience that it was his duty to act as he did, he, upon serious debate both privately and in his addresses to God, and in conferences with conscientious, upright, and unbiassed persons, proceeded to sign the sentence against the king. Although he did not then believe but that it might one day come to be again disputed among men, yet both he and others thought they could not refuse it without giving up the people of God, whom they had led forth and engaged themselves unto by the oath of God, into the hands of God's and their own enemies ; and therefore he cast himself upon God's protection, acting according to the dictates of a conscience which he had sought the Lord to guide, and accordingly the Lord did signalise his favour afterwards to him.

After the death of the king it was debated and resolved to change the form of government from a monarchy into a commonwealth, and the house of lords was voted dangerous and useless thereunto, and dissolved. A council of state was to be annually chosen for the management of affairs, accountable to the parliament, out of which, consisting of forty councillors and a president, twenty were every year to go off by lot, and twenty new ones to be supplied. It is true, that at that time almost every man was fancying a form of government, and angry, when this came forth, that his invention took not place ; and among these was John Lilburne, a turbulent-spirited man, who never was quiet in anything, published libels ; and the levellers made

a disturbance with a kind of insurrection, which Cromwell soon appeased, they indeed being betrayed by their own leaders.

9. THE STORM OF DROGHEDA

[OLIVER CROMWELL'S *Letters*]

After King Charles had been beheaded in January, 1649, Oliver Cromwell was despatched by the Commonwealth Government to Ireland, where the Royalists and Roman Catholics had the upper hand. Cromwell crushed resistance by a series of merciless blows, the first being dealt at Drogheda, which he calls Tredah.

*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire,
Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.*

DUBLIN, 17th September 1649.

SIR,

Your Army being safely arrived at Dublin; and the Enemy endeavouring to draw all his forces together about Trim and Tecroghan, as my intelligence gave me, from whence endeavours were made by the Marquis of Ormond to draw Owen Roe O'Neil with his forces to his assistance, but with what success I cannot yet learn, I resolved, after some refreshment taken for our weather-beaten men and horses, and accommodation for a march, to take the field. And accordingly, upon Friday the 30th of August last, rendezvoused with eight regiments of foot, six of horse and some troops of dragoons, three miles on the north side of Dublin. The design was, To endeavour the regaining of Tredah¹; or tempting the Enemy, upon his hazard of the loss of that place, to fight.

Your Army came before the Town upon Monday

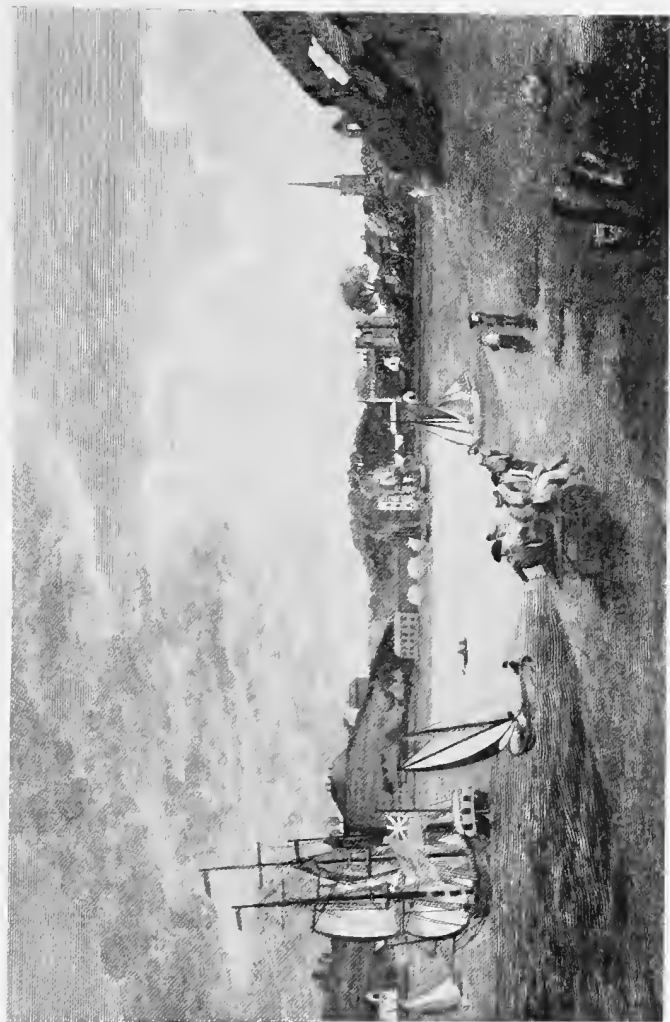
¹ Drogheda.

following. Where having pitched, as speedy course was taken as could be to frame our batteries ; which took up the more time because divers of the battering guns were on shipboard. Upon Monday the 9th of this instant, the batteries began to play. Whereupon I sent Sir Arthur Ashton, the then Governor, a summons, To deliver the Town to the use of the Parliament of England. To the which receiving no satisfactory answer, I proceeded that day to beat down the Steeple of the Church on the south side of the Town and to beat down a Tower not far from the same place, which you will discern by the Chart enclosed.

Our guns not being able to do much that day, it was resolved to endeavour to do our utmost the next day to make breaches assaultable, and by the help of God to storm them. The place pitched upon was that part of the Town-wall next a Church called St Mary's ; which was the rather chosen because we did hope that if we did enter and possess that Church we should be the better able to keep it against their horse and foot until we could make way for the entrance of our horse ; and we did not conceive that any part of the Town would afford the like advantage for that purpose with this. The batteries planted were two : one was for that part of the Wall against the east end of the said Church ; the other against the Wall on the south side. Being somewhat long in battering, the Enemy made six retrenchments : three of them from the said Church to Duleek Gate ; and three of them from the east end of the Church to the Town-wall and so backward. The guns, after some two or three hundred shots, beat down the corner Tower, and opened two reasonable good breaches in the east and south Wall.

Upon Tuesday the 10th of this instant, about five o'clock in the evening, we began the Storm ; and after some hot dispute we entered, about seven hundred men; the Enemy disputing it very stiffly with us. And indeed, through the advantages of the place, and the courage God was pleased to give the defenders, our men were forced to retreat quite out of the breach, not without some considerable loss ; Colonel Castle being there shot in the head, whereof he presently died ; and divers officers and soldiers doing their duty killed and wounded. There was a Tenalia to flanker the south Wall of the Town, between Duleek Gate and the corner Tower before mentioned ; which our men entered, wherein they found some forty or fifty of the Enemy, which they put to the sword. And this Tenalia they held : but it being without the Wall, and the sally-port through the Wall into that Tenalia being choked up with some of the Enemy which were killed in it, it proved of no use for an entrance into the Town that way.

Although our men that stormed the breaches were forced to recoil, as is before expressed ; yet, being encouraged to recover their loss, they made a second attempt : wherein God was pleased so to animate them that they got ground of the Enemy, and by the goodness of God forced him to quit his entrenchments. And after a very hot dispute, the Enemy having both horse and foot, and we only foot, within the Wall, they gave ground, and our men became masters both of their retrenchments and of the Church ; which indeed, although they made our entrance the more difficult, yet they proved of excellent use to us ; so that the Enemy could not now annoy us with their horse, but thereby we had advantage to make good the ground, that so we might



Drogheda
(From an 18th century print)

let in our own horse; which accordingly was done, though with much difficulty. Divers of the Enemy retreated into the Mill-Mount: a place very strong and of difficult access; being exceedingly high, having a good graft, and strongly palisadoed. The Governor, Sir Arthur Ashton, and divers considerable Officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword. And indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the Town: and I think, that night they put to the sword about 2,000 men;—divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the Bridge into the other part of the Town, where about 100 of them possessed St Peter's Church-steeple, some the west Gate and others a strong Round Tower next the Gate called St Sunday's. These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused. Whereupon I ordered the steeple of St Peter's Church to be fired, when one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames: "God damn me, God confound me; I burn, I burn."

The next day, the other two Towers were summoned; in one of which was about six or seven score; but they refused to yield themselves: and we knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away until their stomachs were come down. From one of the said Towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head; and every tenth man of the soldiers killed; and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other Tower were all spared, as to their lives only; and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes.

I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood ; and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future. Which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret. The officers and soldiers of this Garrison were the flower of their army. And their great expectation was, that our attempting this place would put fair to ruin us ; they being confident of the resolution of their men and the advantage of the place. If we had divided our force into two quarters to have besieged the North Town and the South Town we could not have had such a correspondency between the two parts of our Army, but that they might have chosen to have brought their Army, and have fought with which part of ours they pleased—and at the same time have made a sally with 2,000 men upon us, and have left their walls manned ; they having in the Town the number hereafter specified, but some say near 4,000.

Since this great mercy vouchsafed to us, I sent a party of horse and dragoons to Dundalk ; which the Enemy quitted, and we are possessed of, as also of another Castle they deserted, between Trim and Tredah, upon the Boyne. I sent a party of horse and dragoons to a House within five miles of Trim, there being then in Trim some Scots Companies, which the Lord of Ardes brought to assist the Lord of Ormond. But upon the news of Tredah, they ran away ; leaving their great guns behind them, which also we have possessed.

And now give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought. It was set upon some of our hearts, That a great thing should be done, not by power

or might, but by the Spirit of God. And is it not so, clearly? That which caused your men to storm so courageously, it was the Spirit of God, who gave your men courage, and took it away again; and gave the enemy courage, and took it away again; and gave your men courage again, and therewith this happy success. And therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory.

It is remarkable that these people, at the first, set up the Mass in some places in the Town that had been monasteries; but afterwards grew so insolent that, the last Lord's day before the storm, the Protestants were thrust out of the great Church called St Peters, and they had public Mass there: and in this very place near 1000 of them were put to the sword, fleeing for safety. I believe all their friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two; the one of which was Father Peter Taaff, brother to the Lord Taaff, whom the soldiers took, the next day, and made an end of. The other was taken in to Round Tower, under the repute of a Lieutenant, and when he understood that the officers in that Tower had no quarter, he confessed he was a Friar; but that did not save him.

A great deal of loss in this business fell upon Colonel Hewson's, Colonel Castle's, and Colonel Ewer's regiments, Colonel Ewer having two field-Officers in his regiment shot; Colonel Castle and a Captain of his regiment slain; Colonel Hewson's Captain-Lieutenant slain. I do not think we lost 1000 men upon the place, though many be wounded.

I most humbly pray the Parliament may be pleased that this Army may be maintained and that a consideration may be had of them, and of the carrying on affairs here, such as may give speedy issue to this work. To

which there seems to be a marvellous fair opportunity offered by God. And although it may seem very chargeable to the State of England to maintain so great a force ; yet surely to stretch a little for the present in following God's providence, in hope the charge will not be long, I trust it will not be thought by any (that have not irreconcilable or malicious principles) unfit for me to move, For a constant supply ; which, in human probability as to outward things, is most likely to hasten and perfect this work. And indeed if God please to finish it here as He hath done in England, the War is like to pay itself.

We keep the field much ; our tents sheltering us from the wet and cold. But yet the Country sickness overtakes many : and therefore we desire recruits, and some fresh regiments of foot, may be sent us. For it's easily conceived by what the Garrisons already drink up, what our Field-Army will come to, if God shall give more Garrisons into our hands. Craving pardon for this great trouble, I rest,

Your most obedient servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

P.S. Since writing of my Letter, a Major who brought off forty-three horse from the Enemy told me that it's reported in their camp that Owen Roe and they are agreed.

The defendants in Tredah consisted of : The Lord of Ormond's regiment (Sir Edmund Varney, Lieutenant-Colonel), of 400 ; Colonel Byrn's, Colonel Warren's, and Colonel Wall's, of 2000 ; the Lord of Westmeath's, of 200 ; Sir James Dillon's, of 200 ; and 200 horse.

10. ON CROMWELL'S RETURN FROM IRELAND

[ANDREW MARVELL'S *Poems*]

The following poem by Andrew Marvell shows how the characters of Charles I and Cromwell impressed the poet, who was ready to recognise nobility wherever it could be found.

The forward youth that would appear
Must now forsake his muses dear,
Nor in the shadows sing
His numbers languishing :

'Tis time to leave the books in dust,
And oil the unused armour's rust,
Removing from the wall
The corselet of the hall.

So restless Cromwell could not cease
In the inglorious arts of peace,
But through adventurous war
Urgéd his active star ;

And, like the three-forked lightning, first
Breaking the clouds where it was nurst,
Did thorough his own side
His fiery way divide ;

(For 'tis all one to courage high,
The emulous, or enemy,
And with such to inclose,
Is more than to oppose ;)

Then burning through the air he went,
And palaces and temples rent ;
And Cæsar's head at last
Did through his laurels blast.

'Tis madness to resist or blame
The force of angry heaven's flame ;
 And if we would speak true,
 Much to the man is due,
Who from his private gardens, where
He lived reservéd and austere,
 As if his highest plot
 To plant the bergamot,
Could by industrious valour climb
To ruin the great work of Time,
 And cast the kingdoms old,
 Into another mould.
Though Justice against Fate complain,
And plead the ancient rights in vain,
 (But those do hold or break,
 As men are strong or weak,)
Nature, that hateth emptiness,
Allows of penetration less,
 And therefore must make room
 Where greater spirits come.
What field of all the civil war,
Where his were not the deepest scar ?
 And Hampton shows what part
 He had of wiser art ;
Where, twining subtle fears with hope
He wove a net of such a scope
 That Charles himself might chase
 To Carisbrook's narrow case,
That thence the royal actor borne
The tragic scaffold might adorn,
 While round the armed bands
 Did clap their bloody hands ;

He nothing common did, or mean,
Upon that memorable scene,
 But with his keener eye
 The axe's edge did try ;
Nor called the gods with vulgar spite
To vindicate his helpless right,
 But bowed his comely head
 Down, as upon a bed.
This was that memorable hour,
Which first assured the forced power ;
 So when they did design
 The capitol's first line,
A bleeding head, where they begun
Did fright the architects to run ;
 And yet in that the State
 Foresaw its happy fate.
And now the Irish are ashamed
To see themselves in one year tamed.
 So much one man can do,
 That does both act and know.
They can affirm his praises best,
And have, though overcome, confessed
 How good he is, how just,
 And fit for highest trust ;
Nor yet grown stiffer with command,
But still in the republic's hand,
 (How fit he is to sway,
 That can so well obey !)
He to the Commons' feet presents
A kingdom for his first years' rents ;
 And, what he may, forbears
 His fame, to make it theirs ;

And has his sword and spoils ungirt,
To lay them at the public's skirt :
 So when the falcon high
 Falls heavy from the sky,
She, having killed, no more doth search,
But on the next green bough to perch ;
 Where, when he first does lure,
 The falconer has her sure.
What may not then our isle presume,
While victory his crest does plume ?
 What may not others fear,
 If thus he crowns each year ?
As Cæsar, he, 'ere long, to Gaul,
To Italy a Hannibal,
 And to all states not free
 Shall elimaeterie be.
The Pict no shelter now shall find
Within his party-coloured mind,
 But, from this valour sad,
 Shrink underneath the plaid ;
Happy, if in the tufted brake
The English hunter him mistake,
 Nor lay his hounds in near
 The Caledonian deer.
But thou, the war's and fortune's son,
March indefatigably on,
 And for the last effect
 Still keep the sword erect ;
Beside the force it has no fright
The spirits of the shady night,
 The same arts that did gain
 A power, must it maintain.

11. CROMWELL AND THE SCOTTISH KIRK

[OLIVER CROMWELL'S *Letters*]

Cromwell had hardly returned from Ireland when he was despatched to Scotland, where the Presbyterians had proclaimed Charles II king on his signing the Covenant. Scottish Presbyterianism was intolerant of all other sects.

To the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland; or, in case of their not sitting, To the Commissioners of the Kirk of Scotland; These.

MUSSELBURGH, 3rd August 1650.

SIRS,

Your Answer to the Declaration of the Army we have seen. Some godly Ministers with us did, at Berwick, compose this Reply; which I thought fit to send you.

That you or we, in these great Transaetions, answer the will and mind of God, it is only from His græce and merey to us. And therefore having said as in our Papers, we eommit the issue thereof to Him who disposeth all things, assuring you that we have light and eomfort increasing upon us day by day; and are persuaded that, before it be long, the Lord will manifest His good pleasure, so that all shall see Him; and His People shall say, This is the Lord's work, and it is marvellous in our eyes: this is the day that the Lord hath made; we will be glad and rejoyce therein.—Only give me leave to say, in a word, thus much.

You take upon you to judge us in the things of our God, though you know us not,—though in the things we have said unto you, in that which is entitled the Army's

Declaration, we have spoken our hearts as in the sight of the Lord who hath tried us. And by your hard and subtle words you have begotten prejudice in those who do too much, in matters of conscience,—wherein every soul is to answer for itself to God,—depend upon you. So that some have already followed you, to the breathing-out of their souls; and others continue still in the way where they are led by you,—we fear, to their own ruin.

I wish this action may begett thankfullnesse,
and humilitie in all that are concerned in itt,
that venters his life for the libertie of
his countrey, I wish the trust God for the
libertie of his conscience, and you for the
libertie the fights for, In this the words
whose is

June. 14.th 1645.
Haurubowe.

your most humble servant
Oliver Cromwell

Specimen of Cromwell's handwriting

And no marvel if you deal thus with us, when indeed you can find in your hearts to conceal from your own people the Papers we had sent you; who might thereby see and understand the bowels of our affections to them, especially to such among them as fear the Lord. Send as many of your Papers as you please amongst ours; they have a free passage. I fear them not. What is of God in them, would it might be embraced and received! One of them lately sent, directed To the Under-Officers

in the English Army, hath begotten from them this enclosed Answer ; which they desired me to send to you : not a crafty politic one, but a plain and simple spiritual one ;—what kind of one it is God knoweth, and God also will in due time make manifest.

And do we multiply these things, as men ; or do we them for the Lord Christ and His People's sake ? Indeed we are not, through the grace of God, afraid of your numbers, nor confident in ourselves. We could—I pray God you do not think we boast—meet your Army, or what you have to bring against us. We have given,—humbly we speak it before our God, in whom all our hope is,—some proof that thoughts of that kind prevail not upon us. The Lord hath not hid his face from us since our approach so near unto you.

Your own guilt is too much for you to bear : bring not therefore upon yourselves the blood of innocent men,—deceived with pretences of King and Covenant from whose eyes you hide a better knowledge ! I am persuaded that divers of you, who lead the People, have laboured to build yourselves in these things ; wherein you have censured others and established yourselves “upon the Word of God.” Is it therefore infallibly agreeable to the Word of God, all that you say ? I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken. Precept may be upon precept, line may be upon line, and yet the Word of the Lord may be to some a Word of Judgment ; that they may fall backward, and be broken and be snared and be taken ! There may be a spiritual fulness, which the World may call drunkenness ; as in the second Chapter of the Acts. There may be, as well, a carnal confidence upon misunderstood and misapplied precepts,

which may be called spiritual drunkenness. There may be a Covenant made with Death and Hell! I will not say yours was so. But judge if such things have a politic aim: To avoid the overflowing scourge; or, To accomplish worldly interests? And if therein we have confederated with wicked and carnal men, and have respect for them, or otherwise have drawn them in to associate with us, Whether this be a Covenant of God, and spiritual? Bethink yourselves; we hope we do.

I pray you read the Twenty-eighth of Isaiah, from the fifth to the fifteenth verse. And do not scorn to know that it is the Spirit that quickens and giveth life.

The Lord give you and us understanding to do that which is well-pleasing in His sight. Committing you to the grace of God, I rest,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

12. THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR

[OLIVER CROMWELL'S *Letters*]

Cromwell describes the rout of the Scottish army at the battle of Dunbar.

DUNBAR, 14th September 1650.

By that time we had marched three or four miles we saw some bodies of the Enemy's horse draw out of their quarters; and by that time our carriages were gotten near Dunbar, their whole Army was upon their march after us. And indeed, our drawing back in this manner, with the addition of three new regiments added to them, did much to heighten their confidence, if not presumption and arrogance.—The Enemy, that night,

we perceived, gathered towards the Hills ; labouring to make a perfect interposition between us and Berwick. And having in this posture a great advantage,—through his better knowledge of the country, he effected it : by sending a considerable party to the strait Pass at Copperspath ; where ten men to hinder are better than forty to make their way. And truly this was an exigent to us, wherewith the Enemy reproached us ;—as with that condition the Parliament's Army was in when it made its hard conditions with the King in Cornwall. By some reports that have come to us, they had disposed of us, and of their business, in sufficient revenge and wrath towards our persons ; and had swallowed up the poor Interest of England ; believing that their Army and their King would have marched to London without any interruption ;—it being told us (we know not how truly) by a prisoner we took the night before the fight, That their King was very suddenly to come amongst them, with those English they allowed to be about him. But in what they were thus lifted up, the Lord was above them.

The enemy lying in the posture before mentioned having those advantages ; we lay very near him, being sensible of our disadvantages, having some weakness of flesh, but yet consolation and support from the Lord himself to our poor weak faith, wherein I believe not a few amongst us stand : That because of their numbers, because of their advantages, because of their confidence, because of our weakness, because of our strait, we were in the Mount, and in the Mount the Lord would be seen, and that He would find out a way of deliverance and salvation for us :—and indeed we had our consolations and our hopes.

Upon Monday evening,—the Enemy's whole numbers were very great ; about Six-thousand horse, as we heard, and Sixteen-thousand foot at least ; ours drawn down, as to sound men, about Seven-thousand five-hundred foot, and Three-thousand five-hundred horse,—the Enemy drew down to the right wing about two-thirds of their left wing of horse. To the right wing ; shogging also their foot and train much to the right ; causing their right wing of horse to edge down towards the sea. We could not well imagine but that the Enemy intended to attempt upon us or to place themselves in a more exact condition of interposition. The Major-General and myself coming to the Earl Roxburgh's House, and observing this posture, I told him I thought it did give us an opportunity and advantage to attempt upon the Enemy. To which he immediately replied, That he had thought to have said the same thing to me. So that it pleased the Lord to see this apprehension upon both of our hearts at the same instant. We called for Colonel Monk, and showed him the thing : and coming to our quarters at night, and demonstrating our apprehensions to some of the Colonels, they also cheerfully concurred.

We resolved therefore to put our business into this posture : That six regiments of horse, and three regiments and a half of foot should march in the van ; and that the Major-General, the Lieutenant-General of the horse, and the Commissary-General, and Colonel Monk to command the brigade of foot, should lead on the business ; and that Colonel Pride's brigade, Colonel Overton's brigade, and the remaining two regiments of horse should bring up the cannon and rear. The time of falling-on to be by break of day :—but through some

delays it proved not to be so ; not till six o'clock in the morning.

The Enemy's word was, *The Covenant* ; which it had been for divers days. Ours, *The Lord of Hosts*. The Major-General, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and Commissary-General Whalley, and Colonel Twistleton, gave the onset ; the Enemy being in a very good posture to receive them, having the advantage of their cannon and foot against our horse. Before our foot could come up, the Enemy made a gallant resistance, and there was a very hot dispute at sword's point between our horse and theirs. Our first foot, after they had discharged their duty (being overpowered with the Enemy), received some repulse, which they soon recovered. For my own regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe and my Major, White, did come reasonably in ; and, at the push of pike, did repel the stoutest regiment the Enemy had there, merely with the courage the Lord was pleased to give. Which proved a great amazement to the residue of their foot ; this being the first action between the foot. The horse in the meantime did, with a great deal of courage and spirit, beat back all oppositions ; charging through the bodies of the Enemy's horse, and of their foot ; who were, after the first repulse given, made by the Lord of Hosts as stubble to their swords.—Indeed, I believe I may speak it without partiality : both your chief Commanders and others in their several places, and soldiers also, were acted¹ with as much courage as ever hath been seen in any action since this War. I know they look not to be named ; and therefore I forbear particulars.

The best of the Enemy's horse being broken through

¹ actuated.

and through in less than an hour's dispute, their whole army being put into confusion, it became a total rout ; our men having the chase and execution of them near eight miles. We believe that upon the place and near about it were about Three-thousand slain. Prisoners taken : of their officers, you have this enclosed List ; of private soldiers near Ten-thousand. The whole baggage and train taken, wherein was good store of match, powder and bullet ; all their artillery, great and small,—thirty guns. We are confident they have left behind them, not less than Fifteen thousand arms. I have already brought-in to me near Two-hundred colours, which I herewith send you. What officers of theirs of quality are killed, we cannot yet learn ; but yet surely divers are : and many men of quality are mortally wounded, as Colonel Lumsden, the Lord Libberton and others. And, that which is no small addition, I do not believe we have lost twenty men. Not one Commission Officer slain as I hear of, save the Cornet ; and Major Rooksby, since dead of his wounds ; and not many mortally wounded, Colonel Whalley only cut in the hand-wrist, and his horse (twice shot) killed under him ; but he well recovered another horse and went on in the chase.

Thus you have the prospect of one of the most signal mercies God hath done for England and His People, this War :—and now may it please you to give me the leave of a few words. It is easy to say The Lord hath done this. It would do you good to see and hear our poor foot go up and down making their boast of God. But, Sir, it's in your hands, and by these eminent mereies God puts it more into your hands To give glory to Him ; to improve your power, and His blessings, to His praise. We that serve you beg of you not to own us,—but God

alone. We pray you own His people more and more ; for they are the chariots and horsemen of Israel. Disown yourselves ;—but own your Authority, and improve it to curb the proud and the insolent, such as would disturb the tranquillity of England, though under what specious pretences soever. Relieve the oppressed, hear the groans of poor prisoners in England. Be pleased to reform the abuses of all professions :—and if there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a Commonwealth. If He that strengthens your servants to fight, please to give your hearts to set upon these things, in order to His glory, and the glory of your Commonwealth,—then besides the benefit England shall feel thereby, you shall shine forth to other Nations, who shall emulate the glory of such a pattern, and through the power of God turn-in to the like !

These are our desires. And that you may have liberty and opportunity to do these things, and not be hindered, we have been and shall be (by God's assistance) willing to venture our lives ;—and will not desire you should be preecipitated by importunities, from your care of safety and preservation but that the doing of these good things may have their place amongst those which concern well being and so be wrought in their time and order.

13. CROMWELL DISSOLVES THE SECOND PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT

[OLIVER CROMWELL'S *Speeches*]

At the end of 1653, Cromwell became Lord Protector under the decree called the Instrument of Government. The first Parliament called by him was dissolved in January 1655. His second Parliament, called at the end of 1656, proposed a new constitution in the Humble Petition and Advice, in 1657. A new second Chamber was created; but the actual composition of the House of Commons was very materially altered, and when it met again at the end of the year, it again set itself in opposition to the Protector, who thereupon dissolved it.

My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I had very comfortable expectations that God would make this meeting of this Parliament a blessing; and, the Lord be my witness, I desired the carrying-on the affairs of the Nation to these ends! The blessing which I mean, and which we ever elimed at, was merey, truth, righteousness and peace,—which I desired might be improved.

That which brought me into the eapacity I now stand in was the Petition and Adviee given me by you; who, in reference to the ancient Constitution, did draw me to accept the place of Proteetor. There is not a man living can say I sought it; no, not a man nor woman treading upon English ground. But contemplating the sad condition of these Nations, relieved from an intestine War into a six or seven years Peace, I did think the nation happy therein! But to be petitioned thereunto; and advised by you to undertake such a Government, a burden too heavy for any creature; and this to be

done by the House that then had the Legislative capacity :—certainly I did look that the same men who made the Frame should make it good unto me ! I can say in the presence of God, in comparison with whom we are but like poor creeping ants upon the earth,—I would have been glad to have lived upon my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep—rather than undertaken such a Government as this. But undertaking it by the Advice and Petition of you, I did look that you who had offered it unto me should make it good.

I did tell you, at a Conference concerning it, that I would not undertake it, unless there might be some other Persons to interpose between me and the House of Commons, who then had the power, and prevent tumultuary and popular spirits : and it was granted I should name another House. I named it of men who shall meet you wheresoever you go, and shake hands with you ; and tell you it is not Titles, nor Lords, nor Parties that they value, but a Christian and an English Interest ! Men of your own rank and quality, who will not only be a balance unto you, but a new force added to you, while you love England and Religion.

Having proceeded upon these terms ;—and finding such a spirit as is too much predominant, everything being too high or too low ; where virtue, honesty, piety and justice are omitted : I thought I had been doing that which was my duty, and thought it would satisfy you ! But if everything must be too high or too low, you are not to be satisfied.

Again, I would not have accepted of the Government, unless I knew there would be a just accord between the Governor and Governed ; unless they would take an Oath to make good what the Parliament's Petition and

Advice advised me unto ! Upon that I took an Oath and they took another Oath upon their part answerable to mine :—and did not every one know upon what condition he swore ? God knows, I took it upon the conditions expressed in the Act of Government. And I did think we had been upon a foundation, and upon a bottom ; and thereupon I thought myself bound to take it, and to be “advised by the Two Houses of Parliament.” And we standing unsettled till we arrived at that, the consequences would necessarily have been confusion, if that had not been settled. Yet there were not constituted “Hereditary Lords,” nor “Hereditary Kings” ; no, the Power consisteth in the two Houses and myself.—I do not say, that was the meaning of your Oath to you. That were to go against my own principles, to enter upon another man’s conscience. God will judge between you and me ! If there had been in you any intention of Settlement you would have settled upon this basis and have offered your judgment and opinion as to minor improvements.

God is my witness ; I speak it ; it is evident to all the world and people living, That a new business hath been seeking in the Army against this actual Settlement made by your consent. I do not speak to these Gentlemen, or Lords, or whatsoever you will call them ; I speak not this to them, but to you.—You advised me to come into this place, to be in a capacity by your Advice. Yet instead of owning a thing, some must have I know not what ;—and you have not only disjointed yourselves but the whole Nation, which is in likelihood of running into more confusion in these fifteen or sixteen days that you have sat, than it hath been from the rising of the last Session to this day. Through the intention of

devising a Commonwealth again! That some people might be the men that might rule all! And they are endeavouring to engage the Army to carry that thing.—And hath that man been “true to this Nation,” whosoever he be, especially that hath taken an Oath thus to prevaricate? These designs have been made among the Army, to break and divide us. I speak this in the presence of some of the Army: That these things have not been according to God, nor according to truth, pretend what you will! These things tend to nothing else but the playing of the King of Scots’ game (if I may so call him); and I think myself bound before God to do what I can to prevent it.

That which I told you in the Banqueting-House ten days ago was true, That there are preparations of force to invade us. God is my witness, it hath been confirmed to me since, not a day ago, That the King of Scots hath an Army at the water’s side, ready to be shipped for England. I have it from those who have been eye-witnesses of it. And while it is doing, there are endeavours from some who are not far from this place, to stir up the people of this Town into tumulting,—what if I said, Into a Rebellion! And I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God assist me.

It hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the Army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the question about a “Commonwealth”; but some of you have been listing of persons, by our commission of Charles Stuart, to join with any Insurrection that may be made. And what is like to come upon this, the Enemy being ready to invade us, but even present blood and confusion?—and if this be so, I do assign it to this cause: Your not assenting to what you did invite me

by your Petition and Advice, as that which might prove the Settlement of the Nation. And if this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage, I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I do dissolve this Parliament ! And let God be judge between you and me !

CHAPTER III

RESTORATION AND REVOLUTION. 1660—1702

AUTHORITIES CITED.

(1) SAMUEL PEPYS, a young official in the Admiralty, recorded his impressions of persons and events in a private *Diary* between 1660 and 1669.

(2) DANIEL DEFOE wrote in later life a fictitious *Journal of the Plague Year*, though he was only a child at the time of the visitation. The accuracy of his descriptions however is not to be doubted.

(3) SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE was for many years the Ambassador of Charles II in Holland and had great knowledge of foreign affairs. His ideas on domestic politics were academic; but his memoirs are full of information.

(4) GILBERT BURNET, a Scot who ultimately became Bishop of Salisbury. His *History of my own Times*, covering the reigns of the Stuarts after the Restoration, is the most valuable account of the whole period, though it has been severely criticised.

(5) SAMUEL BUTLER satirised the Puritans in the rhymes of *Hudibras*.

(6) JOHN DRYDEN, the greatest man of letters of the Restoration and Revolution. He became a Roman Catholic, and belonged to the Tory camp. The political satire, in which Lord Shaftesbury is portrayed as *Achitophel*, is unsurpassed.

1. WHEN THE KING CAME HOME

[*The Diary of SAMUEL PEPYS*]

The Convention Parliament, assembled in March 1660 by General Monk, recalled Charles II to the throne of England. In this and the two following sections, Mr Samuel Pepys records his own impressions of, and his own share in, various public events during the next twelve months.

May 25th. By the morning we were come close to the land, and every body made ready to get on shore. The King and the two Dukes did eat their breakfast before they went, and there being set some ship's diet, they eat of nothing else but pease and pork, and boiled beef. Dr Clerke, who eat with me, told me how the King had given £50. to Mr Shepley for my Lord's servants, and £500. among the officers and common men of the ship. I spoke to the Duke of York about the business, who called me Pepys by name, and upon my desire did promise me his future favour. Great expectation of the King's making some Knights, but there was none. About noon (though the brigantine that Beale made was there ready to carry him) yet he would go in my Lord's barge with the two Dukes. Our Captn. steered, and my Lord¹ went along bare with him. I went, and Mr Mansell, and one of the King's footmen, and a dog that the King loved, in a boat by ourselves, and so got on shore when the King did, who was received by General Monk with all imaginable love and respect at his entrance upon the land of Dover. Infinite

¹ "My Lord" was Pepys's patron, Sir E. Montague, presently made Earl of Sandwich.

the crowd of people and the horsemen, citizens, and noblemen of all sort. The Mayor of the town come and gave him his white staffe, the badge of his place, which the King did give him again. The Mayor also presented him from the town a very rich Bible which he took and said it was the thing that he loved above all things in the



Samuel Pepys

world. A canopy was provided for him to stand under, which he did, and talked awhile with General Monk and others, and so into a stately coach there set for him, and so away through the towne towards Canterbury, without making any stay at Dover. The shouting and joy expressed by all is past imagination. Seeing that my

Lord did not stir out of his barge I got into a boat, and so into his barge. My lord almost transported with joy that he had done all this without any the least blur or obstruction in the world, that could give offence to any, and with the great honour he thought it would be to him. Being overtook by the brigantine, my Lord and we went out of our barge into it, and so went on board with Sir W. Batten and the Vice and Rear-Admirals. At night I supped with the Captn., who told me what the King had given us. My lord returned late, and at his coming did give me order to cause the mark to be gilded, and a Crowne and C. R. to be made at the head of the coach table, where the King today with his hand did marke his height, which accordingly I caused the painter to do, and is now done as is to be seen.

2. THE REGICIDES.

[*The Diary of* SAMUEL PEPYS]

See heading of Section 1.

October 15th. This morning Mr Carew was hanged and quartered at Charing Cross ; but his quarters, by a great favour, are not to be hanged up.

16th. Being come home, Will. told me that my Lord had a mind to speak with me tonight ; so I returned by water, and, coming there, it was only to enquire how the ships were provided with victuals that were to go with him to fetch over the Queen, which I gave him a good account of. He seemed to be in a melancholy humour, which, I was told by W. Howe, was for that he

had lately lost a great deal of money at cards which he fears he do too much addict himself to nowadays.

18th. This morning, it being expected that Colonel Hacker and Axtell should die, I went to Newgate, but found they were reprivced till to-morrow.

19th. This morning my dining-room was finished with greene serge hanging and gild leather, which is very handsome. This morning Hacker and Axtell were hanged and quartered, as the rest are. This night I sat up late to make up my accounts ready against to-morrow for my Lord.

20th. I dined with my Lord and Lady ; he was very merry, and did talk very high how he would have a French cooke, and a master of his horse, and his lady and child to wear black patches ; which methought was strange, but he is become a perfect courtier ; and, among other things, my Lady saying that she could get a good merchant for her daughter Jem., he answered that he would rather see her with a pedlar's pack at her back, so she married a gentleman, than she should marry a citizen. This afternoon, going through London, and calling at Crowe's the upholsterers, in Saint Bartholomew's, I saw limbs of some of our new traytors set upon Aldersgate, which was a sad sight to see ; and a bloody work this and the last have been, there being ten hanged, drawn and quartered.

21st. George Vines carried me up to the top of his turret, where there is Cooke's head set up for a traytor, and Harrison's set up on the other side of Westminster Hall. Here I could see them plainly, as also a very fair prospect about London.

3. CORONATION DAY

[*The Diary of* SAMUEL PEPYS]

See heading of Section 1.

March 23rd. About four I rose and got to the Abbey, where I followed Sir J. Denham, the Surveyor with some company that he was leading in. And with much ado, by the favour of Mr Cooper, his man, did get up into a great scaffold across the North end of the Abbey, where with a great deal of patience I sat from past four till eleven before the King came in. And a great pleasure it was to see the Abbey raised in the middle all covered with red, and a throne (that is a chaire) and footstool on the top of it ; and all the officers of all kinds, so much as the very fidlers, in red vests. At last comes in the Dean and Prebends of Westminster, with the Bishops, (many of them in cloth of gold copes,) and after them the Nobility, all in their Parliament robes, which was a most magnificent sight. Then the Duke, and the King with a sceptre (carried by my Lord Sandwich) and sword and wand before him, and the crowne too. The King in his robes, bare-headed, which was very fine. And after all had placed themselves, there was a sermon and the service; and then in the Quire at the high altar, the King passed through all the ceremonies of the Coronaçon, which to my great grief I and most in the Abbey could not see. The crowne being put upon his head, a great shout begun, and he come forth to the throne, and there passed through more ceremonies : as taking the oath, and having things read to him by the Bishop ; and his lords (who put on their caps as soon as the King put on his crowne) and bishops come, and

kneeled before him. And three times the King at Armes went to the three open spaces on the seaffold, and proclaimed, that if any one could show any reason why Charles Stewart should not be King of England, that now he should come and speak. And a Generall Pardon also was read by the Lord Chaneellor, and meddalls flung up and down by my Lord Cornwallis, of silver, but I could not come by any. But so great a noise that I could make but little of the musique ; and indeed, it was lost to everybody. I went out a little while before the King had done all his ceremonies, and went round the Abbey to Westminster Hall, all the way within rayles, and 10,000 people with the ground covered with blue cloth ; and seaffolds all the way. Into the Hall I got, where it was very fine with hangings and seaffolds one upon another full of brave ladies ; and my wife in one on the right hand. Here I staid walking up and down, and at last upon one of the side stalls I stood and saw the King come in with all the persons (but the soldiers) that were yesterday in the cavaleade ; and a most pleasant sight it was to see them in their several robes. And the King come in with his crowne on, and his sceptre in his hand, under a eanopy borne up by six silver staves, carried by Barons of the Cinque Ports, and little bells at every end. And after a long time, he got up to the farthest end, and all set themselves down at their several tables ; and that was also a brave sight : and the King's first course carried up by the Knights of the Bath. And many fine ceremonies there was of the Heralds leading up people before him, and bowing : and my Lord of Albemarle's going to the kitchen and eating a bit of the first dish that was to go to the King's table. But above all, was these three Lords, Northumberland,



James, duke of York, followed by the dukes of Albemarle, Ormond, and Buckingham, in the Coronation procession of Charles II



Charles II in his Coronation procession
(From John Ogilby's *Coronation of Charles II*, 1662)

and Suffolke, and the Duke of Ormond, coming before the courses on horseback, and staying so all dinner-time, and at last bringing up (Dymoek) the King's Champion, all in armour on horseback, with his speare and targett carried before him. And a Herald proclaims "That if any dare deny Charles Stewart to be lawful King of England, here was a Champion that would fight with him"; and with these words, the Champion flings down his gauntlet, and all this he do three times in his going up towards the King's table. To which when he is come, the King drinks to him, and then sends him the eup which is of gold, and he drinks it off, and then rides back again with the eup in his hand. I went from table to table to see the Bishops and all others at their dinner, and was infinitely pleased with it. And at the Lord's table, I met with William Howe, and he spoke to my Lord for me, and he did give him four rabbits and a pullet, and so Mr Creed and I got Mr Minshell to give us some bread, and so we at a stall eat it, as every body else did what they could get. I took a great deal of pleasure to go up and down, and look upon the ladies, and to hear the musique of all sorts, but above all, the 24 violins. About six at night they had dined, and I went up to my wife. And strange it is to think, that these two days have held up fair till now that all is done, and the King gone out of the Hall; and then it fell a-raining and thundering and lightening as I have not seen it do for some years: which people did take great notice of; God's blessing of the work of these two days, which is a foolery to take too much notice of such things.

4. THE PLAGUE IN LONDON

[DANIEL DEFOE, *Journal of the Plague*]

In 1665 London suffered from the last great visitation of the plague.

It is scarce credible what dreadful cases happened in particular families every day. People in the rage of the distemper, or in the torment of their swellings, which was indeed intolerable, running out of their own government, raving and distracted, and oftentimes laying violent hands upon themselves out of their windows, shooting themselves, &c. Mothers murdering their own children in their lunacy ; some dying of mere grief, as a passion ; some of mere fright and surprise without any infection at all ; others frightened into idiotism and foolish distractions ; some into despair and lunacy ; others into melancholy madness.

The pain of the swelling was in particular very violent, and to some intolerable. The physicians and surgeons may be said to have tortured many poor creatures even to death ; the swellings in some grew hard, and they applied violent drawing plasters, or poultices, to break them ; and if these did not do, they cut and scarified them in a terrible manner. In some, these swellings were made hard, partly by the force of the distemper, partly by their being too violently drawn, and were so hard that no instrument could cut them, and then they burnt them with caustics, so that many died raving mad with the torment, and some in the very operation. In these distresses, some, for want of help to hold them down in their beds, or to look to them, laid hands upon themselves, as above ; some broke out into the streets, perhaps naked, and would

run directly down to the river, if they were not stopped by the watchman, or other officers, and plunged themselves into the water, wherever they found it.

It often pierced my very soul to hear the groans and cries of those who were thus tormented : but of the two, this was counted the most promising particular in the whole infection : for, if those swellings could be brought to a head, and to break and run, or, as the surgeons call it, to digest, the patient generally recovered ; whereas those who were struck with death at the beginning, and had the tokens come out upon them, often went about indifferently easy, till a little before they died, and some till the moment they dropt down, as in apoplexies and epilepsies is often the case. Such would be taken suddenly very sick, and would run to a bench or bulk, or any convenient place that offered itself, or to their own houses if possible, as I mentioned before, and there sit down, grow faint, and die. This kind of dying was much the same as it was with those who die of common mortifications, who die swooning, and, as it were, go away in a dream ; such as died thus had very little notice of their being infected at all, till the gangrene was spread through their whole body ; nor could physicians themselves know certainly how it was with them till they opened their breasts, or other parts of their body and saw the tokens.

One of the worst days we had in the whole time, as I thought, was in the beginning of September ; when, indeed, good people were beginning to think that God was resolved to make a full end of the people in this miserable city. This was at that time when the plague was fully come into the eastern parishes. The parish of



References

- 1 St Pauls
- 2 St Dunstons
- 3 Temple
- 4 St Bride
- 5 St Andrews
- 6 Burgundic Church
- 7 St Vinpolders
- 8 Boro Church
- 9 Guild hall
- 10 St Michaels
- 11 St Martins
- 12 Old Swan

- 13 London Bridge
- 14 St Dunstons East
- 15 Billingsgate
- 16 Colliers' house
- 17 Tower
- 18 St Dunstons
- 19 St Olaves

- 20 St Mary's
- 21 Whitechapel
- 22 The Gate
- 23 The Boro Church
- 24 St Dunstons
- 25 St Dunstons
- 26 St Dunstons

A View of LONDON as it appeared before the dreadful-Fire in 1666

London before fire of 1666

Aldgate, if I may give my opinion, buried above one thousand a week for two weeks, though the bills did not say so many ; but it surrounded me at so dismal a rate that there was not a house in twenty unaffected. In the Minories, in Houndsditch, and in those parts of Aldgate parish about the Butcher-row, and the alleys over-against me, I say in those places death reigned in every corner. Whitechapel parish was in the same condition, and, though much less than the parish I lived in, yet buried near 600 a week, by bills, and, in my opinion, near twice as many ; whole families, and indeed, whole streets of families, were swept away together ; insomuch, that it was frequent for neighbours to call the bellman to go to such and such a house and fetch out the people, for that they were all dead.

And, indeed, the work of removing the dead bodies by carts was now grown so very odious and dangerous, that it was complained of that the bearers did not take care to clear such houses where all the inhabitants were dead, but that some of the bodies lay unburied till the neighbouring families were offended by the stench, and consequently infected. And this neglect of the officers was such that the churchwardens and constables were summoned to look after it ; and even the justices of the hamlets were obliged to venture their lives among them, to quicken and encourage them ; for innumerable of the bearers died of the distemper, infected by the bodies they were obliged to come so near ; and had it not been that the number of people who wanted employment, and wanted bread, as I have said before, was so great, that necessity drove them to undertake anything, and venture anything, they would never have found people to be employed ; and then the bodies of the dead would have

lain above ground and perished and rotted in a dreadful manner.

But the magistrates cannot be enough commended in this, that they kept such good order for the burying of the dead, that as fast as any of those they employed to carry off and bury the dead fell sick or died, as was many times the case, they immediately supplied the places with others, which, by reason of the great number of poor that was left out of business, as above, was not hard to do. This occasioned that, notwithstanding the infinite number of people who died and were sick, almost all together, yet they were always cleared away, and carried off every night ; so that it was never to be said of London that the living were not able to bury the dead.

As the desolation was greater during those terrible times, so the amazement of the people increased ; and a thousand unaccountable things they would do in the violence of their fright, as others did the same in the agonies of their distemper, and this part was very affecting. Some went roaring, and crying, and wringing their hands along the street ; some would go praying and lifting up their hands to heaven, calling upon God for mercy. I cannot say, indeed, whether this was not in their distraction ; but, be it so, it was still an indication of a more serious mind, when they had the use of their senses ; and was much better, even as it was, than the frightful yellings and cryings that every day, and especially in the evenings, were heard in some streets. I suppose the world has heard of the famous Solomon Eagle, an enthusiast ; he, though not infected at all, but in his head, went about denouncing of judgment upon the city in a frightful manner, sometimes quite naked,

and with a pan of burning charcoal on his head. What he said or pretended, indeed, I could not learn.

There were some people who, notwithstanding the danger, did not omit publicly to attend the worship of God, even in the most dangerous times. And though it is true that a great many of the clergy did shut up their churches and fled, as other people did, for the safety of their lives, yet all did not do so ; some ventured to officiate, and to keep up the assemblies of the people by constant prayers, and sometimes sermons or brief exhortations to repentance and reformation ; and this as long as they would hear them. And Dissenters did the like also, and even in the very churches where the parish ministers were either dead or fled ; nor was there any room for making any difference at such a time as this.

5. RUMOURS OF THE FOUR DAYS' BATTLE

[*The Diary of SAMUEL PEPYS*]

In 1666 England and Holland were at war. In the summer there was a great sea-fight lasting over four days in which the victory lay with the Dutch. Monk (Duke of Albemarle) was in command of the English fleet, which was joined during the course of the battle by a second fleet under the command of Prince Rupert.

June 5th. At noon, though I should have dined with my Lord Mayor and Aldermen at an entertainment of Commissioner Taylor's yet it being a time of expectation of the success of the fleet, I did not go. No manner of news this day, but of the *Rainbow's* being put in from the fleet, maimed as the other ships are.

6th. By and by walking a little further, Sir Phillip Frowde did meet the Duke¹ with an express to Sir W. Coventry (who was by) from Captain Taylor, the Storekeeper at Harwich, being the narration of Captain Hayward of the Dunkirke ; who gives a very serious account, how upon Monday the two fleets fought all day till seven at night, and then the whole fleet of Dutch did betake themselves to a very plain flight, and never looked back again. That Sir Christopher Mings is wounded in the leg ; that the Generall is well. That it is conceived reasonably, that of all the Dutch fleet, which, with what recruits they had, come to one hundred sail, there is not above fifty got home ; and of them, few if any of their flags. And that little Captain Bell, in one of the fire-ships, did at the end of the day fire a ship of 76 guns. We were also so overtaken with this good news, that the Duke ran with it to the King, who was gone to chapel, and there all the Court was in a hubbub, being rejoiced over head and ears in this good news. Away go I by coach to the new Exchange, and there did spread this good news a little, though I find it had broke out before. And so home to our own church, it being the common Fast-day, and it was just before sermon ; but, Lord ! how all the people in the church stared upon me to see me whisper to Sir John Minnes and my Lady Pen. Anon I saw people stirring and whispering below, and by and by comes up the sexton from my Lady Ford to tell me the news, (which I had brought) being now sent into the church by Sir W. Batten in writing, and passed from pew to pew. But that which pleased me as much as the news, was, to have the fair Mrs Middleton at our church, who indeed is a very beautiful

¹ James, Duke of York, afterwards James II.

lady. Idled away the whole night till twelve at night at the bonfire in the streets. Some of the people thereabouts going about with musquets, and did give me two or three vollies of their musquets, I giving them a crown to drink ; and so home. Mightily pleased with this happy day's news and the more, because confirmed by Sir Daniel Harvy, who was in the whole fight with the Generall, and tells me that there appear but thirty-six in all of the Dutch fleet left at the end of the voyage when they run home. The joy of the City was this night exceeding great.

7th. Up betimes, and to my office about business, (Sir W. Coventry having sent me word that he is gone down to the fleet to see how matters stand, and to be back again speedily) ; and with the same expectations of congratulating ourselves with the vietory that I had yesterday. But my Lord Brouncker and Sir T. H. that come from Court, tell me the contrary news, which astonishes me : that is to say, that we are beaten, lost many ships and good commanders ; have not taken one ship of the enemy's ; and so can only report ourselves a vietory ; nor is it certain that we were left masters of the field. But, above all that the Prince¹ run on shore upon the Galloper and there struck ; was endeavoured to be fetchd off by the Dutch, but could not ; and so they burned her ; and Sir G. Ascue is taken prisoner, and carried into Holland. This news do much trouble me, and the thoughts of the ill consequences of it, and the pride and presumption that brought us to it. At noon to the Change, and there find the discourse, of town, and their countenances much changed ; but yet not very plain. By and by comes Mr Wayth to me ; and

¹ Rupert.

discoursing of our ill success, he tells me plainly from Captain Page's own mouth, (who hath lost his arm in the fight,) that the Dutch did pursue us two hours before they left us, and then they suffered us to go on home-wards, and they retreated towards their coast ; which is very sad news. The Duke much damped in his discourse, touching the late fight, and all the Court talk sadly of it. The Duke did give me several letters he had received from the fleet, and Sir W. Coventry and Sir W. Pen, who are gone down thither for me to pick out some works to be done for the setting out the fleet again ; and so I took them home with me, and was drawing out an abstract of them till midnight. And as to news, I do find great reason to think that we are beaten in every respect, and that we are the losers. The Prince upon the Galloper, where both the Royall Charles and Royall Katherine had come twice aground, but got off. The Essex carried into Holland ; the Swiftsure missing (Sir W. Barkeley) ever since the beginning of the fight. Captains Bacon, Tearne, Wood, Mootham, Whitty, and Coppin, slayne. The Duke of Albermarle writes, that he never fought with worse officers in his life, not above twenty of them behaving themselves like men. Sir William Clerke lost his leg ; and in two days died. The Loyall George, Seven Oakes, and Swiftsure, are still missing, having never, as the Generall writes himself, engaged with them. It was as great an alteration to find myself required to write a sad letter instead of a triumphant one, to my Lady Sandwich this night, as ever on any occasion I had in my life.

6. THE PENTLAND RISING

[BISHOP BURNET, *History of my own Times*]

After the Restoration, the Episcopalian system of church government was established in Scotland, to the resentment of the Covenanters. The attempts of the Government to enforce conformity brought about insurrection.

In Scotland the fermentation went very high, Turner was sent again into the west in October, this year: and he began to treat the country at the old rate. The people were alarmed, and saw they were to be undone. They met together and talked with some fiery ministers. Semple, Maxwell, Welsh, and Guthrie were the chief incendiaries. Two gentlemen that had served in the wars, one a lieutenant-colonel, Wallace, and the other that had been a major, Learmonth, were the best officers they had to rely on. The chief gentlemen of those counties were all clapped up in prison, as was formerly told. So that preserved them: otherwise they must either have engaged with the people, or have lost their interest among them. The people were told, that the fire of London had put things in that confusion at court, that any vigorous attempt would disorder all the king's affairs. If the newly levied troops had not stood in their way they would have been able to have carried all things against them: for the two troops of guards with the regiment of foot guards, would not have been able to have kept their ground before them. The people, as some of them told me afterwards, were made to believe that the whole nation was in the same disposition. So on the thirteenth of November they ran together; and two hundred of them went to Dumfries, where Turner then lay with a few soldiers about him; the greatest

part of his men being then out in parties, for the levying of fines. So they surprised him before he could get to his arms; otherwise, he told me, he would have been killed rather than taken, since he expected no mercy from them. With himself they seized his papers and instructions, by which it appeared he had been gentler than his orders were. So they resolved to keep him and exchange him as occasion should be offered. But they did not tell him what they intended to do with him: so he thought, they were keeping him, till they might hang him up with the more solemnity. There was considerable cash in his hands, partly for the pay of his men, partly of the fines which he had raised in the country, that was seized; but he, to whom they trusted the keeping of it, ran away with it.

The news of this rising was brought to Edinburgh, fame increasing their numbers to some thousands. And this happening to be near Carlisle, the governor of that place sent an express to court, in which the strength of the party was magnified much beyond the truth. The earl of Rothes was then at court, who had assured the king, that all things were so well managed in Scotland that they were in perfect quiet. There were, he said, some stubborn fanatics still left that would be soon subdued: but there was no danger from any thing that they or their party could do. He gave no credit to the express from Carlisle: but, two days after, the news was confirmed by an express from Scotland. Sharp was then at the head of the government: so he managed this little war, and gave all the orders and direction in it. Dalziel was commanded to draw all the forces they had together which lay then dispersed in quarters. When that was done, he marched westward. A great

many ran to the rebels, who came to be called Whigs. At Lanark in Clydesdale they had a solemn fast day, in which, after much praying, they renewed the covenant, and set out their manifesto: in which they denied, they rose against the king; they complained of the oppression under which they had groaned; they desired that episcopacy might be put down, and that presbytery, and the covenant, might be set up, and their ministers restored again to them, and then they promised, that they would be in all other things the king's most obedient subjects. The earl of Argyle raised fifteen hundred men and wrote to the council, that he was ready to march upon order. Sharp thought, that if he came into the country, either he or his men would certainly join with the rebels: so he sent him no order at all. But he was at the charge of keeping his men together to no purpose. Sharp was all the while in a dreadful consternation, and wrote dismal letters to court, praying that the forces which lay in the north of England might be ordered down: for, he wrote, they were surrounded with the rebels and did not know what was become of the king's forces. He also moved, that the council would go, and shut themselves up in the Castle of Edinburgh. But that was opposed by the rest of the board, as an abandoning of the town, and the betraying an unbecoming fear, which might very much encourage the rebels, and such as intended to go over to them. Orders were given out for raising the country: but there was no militia yet formed. In the meanwhile Dalziel followed the rebels as close as he could. He published a proclamation of pardon, as he was ordered, to all that should in twenty-four hours' time return to their houses, and declared all that continued any longer in arms rebels.

He found the country was so well affected towards them, that he could get no sort of intelligence, but what his own parties brought in to him. The Whigs marched towards Edinburgh, and came within two miles of the town. But, finding neither town nor country declare for them, and that all the hopes their leaders had given them proved false, they lost heart. From being once above two thousand they were come to be not above eight or nine hundred. So they resolved to return back to the west; where they knew the people were of their side; and where they could more easily disperse themselves, and get either into England or Ireland. The ministers were very busy in all those counties, plying people of rank not to forsake their brethren in this extremity. And they had got a company of about three or fourscore gentlemen together, who were marching towards them, when they heard of their defeat: and upon that they dispersed themselves. The rebels thought to have marched back by the way of Pentland Hill. They were not much concerned for the few horses they had. And they knew that Dalziel, whose horse was fatigued with a fortnight's constant march, could not follow them. And if they had gained but one night more in their march, they had got out of his reach. But on the twenty-eighth of November, about an hour before sunset, he came up to them. They were posted on the top of a hill: so he engaged with a great disadvantage. They, finding they could not get off, stopped their march. Their ministers did all they could by preaching and praying to infuse courage into them; and they sung the seventy-fourth and the seventy-eighth psalms. And so they turned on the king's forces. They received the first charge that was given by the troop of guards

very resolutely, and put them in disorder. But that was all the action; for immediately they lost all order, and ran for their lives. It was now dark: about forty were killed on the spot and a hundred and thirty were taken. The rest were favoured by the darkness of the night, and the weariness of the king's troops, that were not in case to pursue them and had no great heart to it: for they were a poor harmless company of men, become mad by oppression: and they had taken nothing during all the time they had been together, but what had been freely given them by the country people. The rebellion was broken with the loss of only five on the king's side. The general came next day into Edinburgh with his prisoners.

7. A COMPREHENSION BILL

[*The Diary of SAMUEL PEPYS*]

Charles II was personally in favour of general toleration, for the sake of the Roman Catholics. The Parliament however, which continued undissolved for eighteen years, was intensely Anglian, and intensely intolerant, and rejected the proposal for so extending the borders of the Church as to admit many who were excluded by the established formulæ.

Feb. 10. Thence to Westminster Hall, where the Hall mighty full; and, among other things, the House begins to sit today, and the King came. But before the King's coming the House of Commons met; and upon information given them of a Bill intended to be brought in, as common report said, for Comprehension, they did mightily and generally inveigh against it, and

did vote that the King should be desired by the House, and the message delivered by the Privy-counsellors of the House, that the laws against breakers of the Act of Uniformity should be put in execution: and it was moved in the House that if any people had a mind to bring any new laws into the House about religion, they might come as a proposer of new laws did in Athens, with ropes about their necks. By and by the King comes to the Lords' House and there tells them of his league with Holland, and the necessity of a fleet, and his debts; and, therefore, want of money; and his desire that they would think of some way to bring in all his Protestant subjects to a right understanding and peace one with another; meaning the Bill of Comprehension. The Commons coming to their House, it was moved that the vote passed this morning might be suspended, because of the King's Speech, till the House was full and called over two days hence, but it was denied, so furious they are against this Bill; and thereby a great blow either given to the King or Presbyters, or, which is the rather of the two, to the House itself, by denying a thing desired by the king, and so much desired by much the greater part of the nation. Whatever the consequence be, if the King be a man of any stomach and heat, all do believe that he will resent this vote.

8. A VIEW OF THE PURITANS

[SAMUEL BUTLER'S *Hudibras*]

Samuel Butler expresses the reaction in the minds of those in whose eyes Puritanism was for the most part gross hypocrisy.

Errant saints whom all men grant
To be the true Church Militant.
Such as do build their faith upon
The holy test of pike and gun;
Decide all controversies by
Infallible artillery;
And prove their doctrine orthodox
With apostolic blows and knocks;
Call fire and sword and desolation
A godly, thorough Reformation,
Which always must be going on,
And still be doing, never done,
As if Religion were intended
For nothing else but to be mended:
A sect whose chief devotion lies
In odd, perverse antipathies,
In falling out with that or this
And finding somewhat still amiss;
More peevish, cross, and splenetic
Than dog distract or monkey sick:
That with more care keep holyday
The wrong, than others the right way;
Compound for sins they are inclined to
By damning those they have no mind to.
Still so perverse and opposite
As if they worshipped God for spite,

The self-same thing they will abhor
One way and long another for;
Freewill they one way disavow,
Another, nothing else allow;
All piety consists therein
In them, in other men all sin.
Rather than fail they will defy
That which they love most tenderly;
Quarrel with mince-pies, and disparage
Their best and dearest friend plum-porridge;
Fat pig and goose itself oppose,
And blaspheme custard through the nose.

9. THE LAST DUTCH WAR

[SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, *Memoirs*]

In 1672, Charles II, in collusion with Louis XIV of France, declared war against Holland.

No clap of thunder in a fair frosty day could more astonish the world, than our declaration of war against Holland in 1672 first by matter of fact, in falling upon their Smyrna fleet; and in consequence of that (however it failed) by a formal declaration, in which we gave reasons for our quarrel, while France contented themselves to give no other for their part of it, than only the glory of that king. The Dutch could never be possessed with a belief that we were in earnest till the blow was given; but thought our unkindness and expostulations of late would end at last either in demands of money, or the prince of Orange's restitution to the authority of his ancestors. The princes concerned in their safety

could not believe, that after having saved Flanders out of the hands of France, we would suffer Holland to fall into the same danger ; and my lord Arlington told me at that time, that the court of France did not believe it themselves till the blow was struck in the attack of the Smyrna fleet ; but then they immediately set out their declaration, and began their prodigious successes. The Dutch had made no provision for the defence either at home or abroad ; and the Empire, Spain, and Sweden stood at a gaze upon the opening of the war, not knowing upon what concerts between us and France it was begun, nor how far we would suffer it to go on upon the French conquests. Besides, the animosities of the parties in Holland, long suppressed under the new constitutions and De Witt's ministry, began to flame again upon this misfortune of their State. The prince's friends talked loud and boldly, that there was no way to satisfy England, but restoring the prince ; and that the baseness and cowardice of their troops were the effects of turning out all officers of worth and bravery for their inclinations to the prince, and mean fellows brought in, for no other desert than their enmity declared to the house of Orange. Upon this all men expected a sudden change ; the States were in disorder, and irresolute what to do ; the troops were without a general, and, which is worse, without heart ; and though De Ruiter, by admirable conduct kept the infection of these evils out of his fleet, which was our part to deal with ; yet faction, distrust, sedition and distraction made such entrances upon the State and the army, when the French troops first invaded them, that of all the towns and fortresses on the German side (held impregnable in all their former wars) not one besides

Maestricht made any shew of resistance, and the French became immediately masters of all the inland parts of the provinces, in as little time as travellers usually employ to see and consider them. Maestricht was taken after a short siege, as Schenck-sconce, by the help of an extreme dry season that made rivers fordable where they had never been esteemed so before. The king of France marched as far as Utrecht; where he fixed his camp and his court, and from thence began to consider the ways how to possess himself of the rest, that was defended only by their situation upon some flat lands, which, as they had, by infinite labour in canals and dikes¹, been either gained or preserved from inundations, so they were subject to them upon opening the sluices, whenever the Dutch found no other way of saving their country but by losing it. This, at least, was generally believed in the French camp and court, and, as I have heard, was the preservation of the State; for the king, unwilling to venture the honour and advantage of such conquests as he had made that summer, upon the hazards of a new sort of war with a merciless element, where neither conduct nor courage were of use, resolved to leave the rest to practices of peace with the States, upon the advantage of the terms he stood in, and the small distance of place between them; or, if these should not succeed, then he trusted to the frosts of the following winter which seldom fail in that country to make all passable and safe for troops and carriages themselves, that in summer would be impassable, either from the waters or the depth of soil.

In the mean time, the State and the government of Holland took a new form, and with it a new heart.

¹ Dikes.

Monsieur De Witt and his brother had been massacred by the sudden fury of the people at the Hague, and by the fate of ministers that govern by a party or faction, who are usually sacrificed to the first great misfortunes abroad that fall in to aggravate or inflame the general discontents at home. After the death of these brothers, the provinces and towns ran with unanimous voices into public demands of the prince's being restored to the authority of his ancestors. The States had, in the beginning of the year, declared him captain-general and admiral of their forces, which was no more than De Witt had always professed was designed for him when he should be of age ; but this was found neither to have satisfied England, nor the prince's party at home ; and therefore all the members of the State agreed in those acts that were thought necessary to a full restitution of his highness, now at the age of twenty-one years, to the office and power of Stadtholder, with all advantages, and even some more than those which had been exercised by his ancestors. At the same time monsieur Fagel was introduced to monsieur De Witt's place, of Pensioner of Holland, whose love to his country made him a lover of the prince, as believing it could not be saved by any other hand, and whose zeal to his own religion made him an enemy irreconcilable to France, whose professions as well as designs were to destroy it.

This revolution as it calmed all at home, so it made the first appearance of defending what was left of the country : the State grew united, the army in heart, and foreign princes began to take confidence in the honour and constancy of the young prince, which they had in a manner wholly lost upon the divisions and misfortunes

of the State. The French themselves turned all their applications and practices the same way, and made the prince all the offers that could be of honour and advantages to his person and family, provided he would be contented to depend upon them. The bait they thought could not fail of being swallowed, and about which most artifice was employed, was the proposal of making the prince sovereign of the provinces, under the protection of England and France. And, to say truth, at a time when so little of the provinces was left, and what remained was under water, and in so imminent danger upon the first frosts of the winter ; this seemed a lure to which a meaner soul than that of this prince might very well stoop. But his was above it, and his answers always firm, that he never would betray a trust that was given him, nor even sell the liberties of his country that his ancestors had so long defended. Yet the game he played was then thought so desperate, that one of his nearest servants told me he had long expostulated it with his master ; and asked him at last, how he pretended to live after Holland was lost ? and whether he had thought so far ? The prince told him he had ; and that he was resolved to live upon the lands he had left in Germany ; and that he had rather pass his life hunting there, than sell his country or his liberty to France at any price.

10. JEALOUSIES : 1675

[SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S *Memoirs*]

In 1675 the ministry known as the Cabal had broken up and the minister in favour with the king was Lord Danby

About the end of July, the king of France, weary of a dull campaign, left the army to the prince of Condé, and returned with his court to Versailles ; and, the same month, his majesty, seeing the negotiations of the peace laid at present asleep, sent for me to make a short turn into England, and give an account of all the observations I had been able to make abroad upon the present dispositions and conjectures, as well as receive his instructions for the future progress of his mediation.

The parliament in England, though much pleased with the last peace with Holland, yet were not so with his majesty's desires of a general one. They thought the powers of France too great since their last conquests in Flanders : and their ambition too declared, of achieving it by one means, and at one time or other. They were suspicious of the court's favouring too much the French designs, by pursuing a peace that would break so mighty a confederacy as was now united against France. They were jealous of the counsels which had made the late alliance and kindness between us and France, in the time of the late cabal. And besides these regards ; and the common notions of balancing the power of our neighbours, which were very popular ; the ambitious designs of private, but unquiet or aspiring men, fell in to augment and blow up the general ill humours upon the more public accounts.

The lord Shaftesbury, impatient at his fall from so

great a share of the ministry, and hoping to retrieve a game he was forced to give over, had run desperately into the popular humour, both in parliament and city, of censuring the court, exclaiming against our partiality to France, but most of all against the conduct of the present ministry : and lord Arlington was so enraged at the growth of my lord Treasurer's¹ credit upon the fall of his own, that he fell in with the common humour of the parliament, in fomenting those jealousies and practices in the house of commons, which centred in a measure, agreed among the most considerable of them, not to consent to give the king any money, whilst the present lord Treasurer continued. Upon these occasions or dispositions they grew very high in pursuing the lord Lauderdale, the only remainder of the cabal that had now any credit left at court ; and they pressed the king very earnestly to recall all the English troops in the French service, though there was a greater number in the Dutch : but besides, they fell into so great dissensions between the two houses, raised upon punctilious disputes and deductions of their several privileges in opposition to one another, that about the end of June the king prorogued them.

Upon my arrival soon after, his majesty, telling me the several reasons that had moved him to it said, That he doubted much, while the war lasted abroad, it would give occasion or pretence for these heats that had of late appeared in the parliament, and make him very uneasy in his revenue, which so much needed their assistance ; that some of the warm leaders in both houses had a mind to engage him in a war against France, which they should not do for many reasons ;

¹ Danby.

and, among the rest because he was sure, if they did, they would leave him in it, and make use of it to ruin his ministers and make him depend upon them more than he intended, or any king would desire. But, besides all this he doubted an impertinent quarrel between my lord Treasurer and lord Chamberlain¹ did him more disservice in the parliament than I could imagine : for the last did not care what harm he did his business there, so he could hope to ruin my lord Treasurer ; and had persuaded a great many in the house of commons that this would certainly be compassed if they were stanch and declared in giving no money during his ministry : that he knew they were both my friends, and therefore desired I would try to reconcile them while I staid in England. I endeavoured it, but failed : my lord Danby was very inclinable, being so posted as to desire only to continue where he was, and that the king's business might go well in his hands ; but my Lord Arlington was so uneasy in the posture he stood, which he attributed chiefly to my lord Treasurer's present greatness, that he was untreatable upon this subject : so, when I found the wound was too much rankled to be cured, I gave it over, telling each of them, that, since I could not make them friends, I would at least live with them both as if they were so ; and desired them not to expect I should sacrifice one friend to another. My lord Treasurer was content with this frankness, but lord Arlington could not bear this neither, grew dry from this time, and stiff in all that passed between us, still mingling little reproaches or touches of my greatness with the other ; and grew so weary of the scene at court, where he found himself left

¹ Arlington.

out, that he went into the country for the rest of the summer.

Thus the seeds of discontents, that had been sown in the parliament under the counsels of the cabal, began to spring fast, and root deep ; and those heats were under other covers fomented by two of the chief that composed that ministry, and with help of time and accident grew to such flames as have since appeared.

11. A CHARACTER OF CHARLES II

[SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S *Memoirs*]

Sir William Temple gives his impression of the character of Charles II.

At my arrival, the king asked me many questions about my journey, about the congress, draping us for spending him so much money, and doing nothing ; and about Sir Lionel¹, asking me how I had bred him, and how he passed among the ambassadors there ; and other pleasantries upon that subject. After a good deal of this kind of conversation, he told me, I knew for what he had sent for me over, and that was what he had long intended ; and I was not to thank him, because he did not know any body else to bring into that place. I told his majesty that it was too great a compliment for me, but was a very ill one to my country, and which I thought it did not deserve : that I believed there were a great many in it fit for that, or any other place he had to give ; and I could name two in a breath that I would undertake should make better secretaries of state than I. The king said, “ Go, get you gone to Sheen ; we

¹ Jenkins.

shall have no good of you till you have been there ; and, when you have rested yourself come up again." I never saw him in better humour, nor ever knew a more agreeable conversation when he was so ; and, where he was pleased to be familiar, great quickness of perception, great pleasantness of wit, with great variety of knowledge, more observation and truer judgement of men, than one would have imagined by so careless and easy a manner as was natural to him in all he said or did. From his own temper, he desired nothing but to be easy himself, and that every body else should be so ; and would have been glad to see the least of his subjects pleased, and to refuse no man what he asked. But this softness of temper made him apt to fall into the persuasions of whoever had his kindness and confidence for the time, how different soever from the opinions he was of before ; and he was very easy to change hands, when those he employed seemed to have engaged him in any difficulties : so as nothing looked steady in the conduct of his affairs, nor aimed at any certain end. Yet sure no prince has more qualities to make him loved, with a great many to make him esteemed, and all without a grain of pride or vanity in his whole constitution : nor can he suffer flattery in any kind, growing uneasy upon occasions of glory to himself, and greatness to his crown, which the conjunctures of his own reign conspired to put into his hand ; and have made way for the aspiring thoughts and designs of a neighbour prince, which would not have appeared, or could not have succeeded in the world, without the applications and arts employed to manage this easy and inglorious humour of the king.

12. SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S COUNCIL

[SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S *Memoirs*]

IN 1679 the system of government was in complete confusion and to remedy this Sir William Temple proposed the institution of a new Privy Council.

Upon my arrival in England, I met with the most surprising scene that ever was : the long parliament¹ dissolved, and the resolution taken for the duke's going into Holland, and that he was to part next day.

I found nothing so necessary for his majesty's affairs abroad, and those of Christendom, as great union at home ; which might enable him to make such a figure as the preservation of his allies required ; and indeed the general interest of Christendom ; which seemed to depend wholly upon his majesty's measures. On the other side, I never saw greater disturbance in men's minds at home, than had been raised by the plot², and the pursuit of it in the parliament ; and observed, that though it was generally believed by both houses, by city and country, by clergy and laity ; yet when I talked with some of my friends in private who ought best to know the bottom of it, they only concluded that it was yet mysterious ; that they could not say the king believed it ; but, however, that the parliament and nation were so generally and strongly possessed with it, that it must of necessity be pursued as if it were true, whether it was so or no ; and that, without the king's uniting with his people upon this point, he would never grow either into ease at home, or consideration abroad.

¹ The parliament called in the first year of Charles II, which sat at intervals for 18 years. Not the "Long Parliament" of Charles I.

² The "Popish Plot," the invention of Titus Oates.

The short parliament met, with the disputes between the court and the commons about the speaker, begun indeed upon pique between the treasurer and Mr Seymour [afterwards Sir Edward Seymour] or rather between my lady Danby and him. However it was, this soon ran the house into such violenees against my lord treasurer, as ended in this ruin; first by the king's sudden resolution to remove him, then by the commons continuing their pursuits and impeachments; and last, by his lordships first concealing, and then producing himself in the face of this storm, which ended in the Tower.

After these heats of the commons, which increased into new measures and motions among them, as they were swayed by popular humours upon the plot, and many new plots laid by the ambitions of private persons, carried on under covert of the other; I never saw any man more sensible of the miserable condition of affairs, than I found his majesty upon many different discourses with him, which my foreign employments and correspondence made way for. But nothing he laid to me moved me more, than when, upon the said prospect of them all, he told me, he had none left, with whom he could so much as speak of them in confidence, since my lord treasurer's being gone. And this gave, I suppose, his majesty the occasion of entering into more confidence with me, than I could deserve or expect. On the other side I found, that the counsel of my lord treasurer's removal had been carried on by the duke of Monmouth, in conjunction with the duchess of Portsmouth, and lord Essex, who was then in the greatest confidence with the duke of Monmouth, and by him and lord Sunderland newly brought into the treasury. I found my lord

Sunderland at least in compliance with this knot, and that all were resolved to bring my lord Shaftesbury again into court, who was in confidence with the duke of Monmouth and lord Essex, and had a near relation to lord Sunderland. I observed the great affection his majesty had to the duke of Monmouth, and saw plainly the use his grace intended to make of it, in case he could introduce a ministry at his own devotion, or in his interests: and this being a matter that might concern the very succession of the crown, and not only an injury to the duke but through him to his children, and the prince of Orange; I resolved first, if it were possible, to break the growth of that ministry, though I saw no men whom I could design to fix in it, with any satisfaction or advantage to the king or his service.

On the other side, I observed the parliament to grow every day more violent, upon the support they received from the humours raised by the plot, and the incentives given to them by the ambitions of persons playing that game. I saw a probability of matters growing to such a pass, that his majesty might be forced to part with them; and yet I saw not authority enough left in the crown, either to do that without the venture of great mischiefs, or to live without another parliament till the present humours might cool. And both these considerations, meeting together, cast me upon the thoughts of the king's establishing a new council, of such a condition, as might either gain credit enough with present parliament, by taking in so many persons of those who had most among them, and thereby give ease and quiet both to the king and his people; or if, on the other side, the humours should grow outrageous and beyond opposing, the king might yet,

at the head of such a council, with more authority and less hazard of ill consequences, either prorogue or dissolve them, as any necessities of his own, or extravagancies of theirs should require.

For these ends it seemed necessary to take into the council some lords and commoners who were of most appearing credit and sway in both houses, without being thought either principled or interested against the government; and mix them with others of his majesty's more general choice, for making up one half of the council, whilst the other half, being fifteen, were ever to be the present chief officers of his crown and household, who being all of his majesty's known trust, as well as choice, would be sure to keep the council steady to the true interest of his majesty, and the crown.

But one chief regard, necessary to this constitution, was that of the personal riches of this new council; which, in revenues of land or offices was found to amount to about three hundred thousand pounds a year; whereas those of a house of commons are seldom found to have exceeded four hundred thousand pounds. And authority is observed much to follow land: and at the worst, such a council might, out of their own stock, and upon a pinch, furnish the king so far as to relieve some great necessity of the crown.

This whole matter was consulted and deduced upon paper, only between the king and me, and lasted in the debate and digestion about a month; but when the forms and persons were agreed, and his majesty seemed much satisfied with the thing, and resolved to go on with it, I humbly desired him not to take a resolution of that importance, without first communicating it to

three or four persons of those his majesty could most rely upon in point of judgment, secrecy and affection to his service. The king resolved I should go and communicate the whole scheme, with all the particulars of it, to my lord Chancellor, lord Sunderland, and lord Essex ; but one after another ; and with charges from him of the last secrecy ; and should bring him word of their opinions upon it : and if they concurred with his, should appoint them to attend his majesty next morning ; the Chancellor only entering into his lodgings by the common way, but the other two and I by the private one below.

13. A CHARACTER OF SHAFTESBURY

[JOHN DRYDEN, *Absalom and Achitophel*]

John Dryden describes the character of Lord Shaftesbury.

Of these the false Achitophel was first,
A name to all succeeding ages curst :
For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
Sagacious, bold and turbulent of wit,
Restless, unfixed in principles and place,
In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace ;
A fiery soul which working out its way,
Fretted the pigmy body to decay
And o'er-informed the tenement of clay.
A daring pilot in extremity,
Pleased with the danger, when the waves went high,
He sought the storms ; but, for a calm unfit,
Would steer too nigh the sands to boast his wit.
Great wits are sure to madness near allied,
And thin partitions do their bounds divide ;

Else, why should he, with wealth and honour blest,
Refuse his age the needful hours of rest?
Punish a body which he could not please,
Bankrupt of life, yet prodigal of ease?
And all to leave what with his toil he won
To that unfeathered two-legged thing, a son,
Got, while his soul did huddled notions try,
And born a shapeless lump, like anarchy.
In friendship false, implacable in hate,
Resolved to ruin or to rule the state;
To compass this the triple bond he broke,
The pillars of the public safety shook,
And fitted Israel for a foreign yoke;
Then, seized with fear, yet still affecting fame,
Usurped a patriot's all-atoning name.
So easy still it proves in factions times
With public zeal to cancel private crimes.
How safe is treason and how sacred ill,
Where none can sin against the people's will,
Where crowds can wink and no offence be known,
Since in another's guilt they find their own!
Yet fame deserved no enemy can grudge;
The statesman we abhor, but praise the judge.
In Israel's courts ne'er sat an Abbethdin
With more discerning eyes or hands more clean,
Unbribed, unsought, the wretched to redress,
Swift of despatch and easy of access.
Oh! had he been content to serve the crown
With virtue only proper to the gown,
Or had the rankness of the soil been freed
From cockle that oppressed the noble seed,
David for him his tuneful harp had strung
And Heaven had wanted one immortal song.

But wild ambition loves to slide, not stand,
And Fortune's ice prefers to Virtue's land.
Achitophel, grown weary to possess
A lawful fame and lazy happiness,
Disdained the golden fruit to gather free,
And lent the crowd his arm to shake the tree.
Now, manifest of crimes contrived long since,
He stood at bold defiance with his Prince,
Held up the buckler of the people's cause
Against the crown, and skulked behind the laws.
The wished occasion of the Plot¹ he takes ;
Some circumstances finds, but more he makes ;
By buzzing emissaries fills the ears
Of listening crowds with jealousies and fears
Of arbitrary counsels brought to light,
And proves the King himself a Jebusite.
Weak arguments ! which yet he knew full well
Were strong with people easy to rebel.
For, governed by the moon, the giddy Jews
Tread the same tract when she the prime renews :
And once in twenty years their scribes record,
By natural instinct they change their lord.

14. THE MONMOUTH REBELLION

[BISHOP BURNET, *History of my own Times*]

On the accession of James II, the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II, posed as the champion of Protestantism, with the intention of claiming the throne, and raised a rebellion in the West of England.

Upon the duke of Monmouth's landing, many of the country people came in to join him, but very few of

¹ The "Popish Plot."

the gentry. He had quickly men enough about him to use all his arms. The duke of Albemarle, as lord-lieutenant of Devonshire, was sent down to raise the militia, and with them to make head against him. But their ill affection appeared very evidently: many deserted, and all were cold in the service. The duke of Monmouth had the whole country open to him for almost a fortnight, during which time he was very diligent in training and animating his men. His own behaviour was so gentle and obliging, that he was master of all their hearts, as much as was possible. But he quickly found what it was to be at the head of undisciplined men that knew nothing of war, and that were not to be used with rigour. Soon after their landing, lord Grey was sent out with a small party. He saw a few of the militia, and he ran for it; but his men stood; and the militia ran from them. Lord Grey brought a false alarm, that was soon found to be so; for the men whom their leader had abandoned came back in good order. The duke of Monmouth was struck with this, when he found that the person on whom he designed the command of the horse, had already made himself infamous by his cowardice. He intended to join Fletcher with him in that command; but an unhappy accident made it not convenient to keep him longer about him. He sent him out on another party, and he, not being yet furnished with a horse, took the horse of one who had brought in a great body of men from Taunton. He was not in the way; so Fletcher, not seeing him to ask his leave, thought that all things were to be in common among them that would advance his service. After Fletcher had ridden about as he was ordered, as he returned, the owner of the horse he rode

on, who was a rough and ill-bred man, reproached him in very injurious terms, for taking out his horse without his leave. Fletcher bore this longer than could have been expected from one of his impetuous temper. But the other persisted in giving him foul language, and offered a switch or a cane; upon which he discharged his pistol at him, and fatally shot him dead. He went and gave the duke of Monmouth an account of this, who saw it was impossible to keep him longer about him, without disgusting and losing the country people, who were coming in a body to demand justice. So he advised him to go aboard the ship and to sail on to Spain, whither she was bound. By this means he was preserved for that time.

Ferguson ran among the people with all the fury of an enraged man that affected to pass for an enthusiast, though all his performances that way were forced and dry. The duke of Monmouth's great error was, that he did not in the first heat venture on some hardy action, and then march either to Exeter or Bristol; where as he would have found much wealth, so he would have gained some reputation by it. But he lingered in exercising his men, and stayed too long in the neighbourhood of Lyme.

By this means the king had time both to bring troops out of Scotland, after Argyle was taken, and to send to Holland for the English and Scotch regiments that were in the service of the States; which the prince sent over very readily, and offered his own person and a greater force, if it was necessary. The king received this with great expressions of acknowledgement and kindness. It was very visible that he was much distracted in his thoughts, and that what

appearance of courage soever he might put on, he was inwardly full of apprehensions and fears. He durst not accept of the offer of assistance that the French made him ; for by that he would have lost the hearts of the English nation. And he had no mind to be much obliged to the Prince of Orange or to let him into his counsels or affairs. Prince George committed a great error in not asking the command of the army ; for the command, how much soever he might have been bound to the counsels of others, would have given him some lustre ; whereas his staying at home in such time of danger brought him under much neglect.

The king could not choose worse than he did, when he gave the command to the earl of Feversham, who was a Frenchman by birth, and nephew to M. de Turenne. Both his brothers changing religion, though he continued still a protestant, made that his religion was not much to be trusted to. He was an honest, brave and goodnatured man, but weak to a degree not easy to be conceived. And he conducted matters so ill, that every step he made was likely to prove fatal to the king's service. He had no parties abroad : he got no intelligence : and was almost surprised, and likely to be defeated, when he seemed to be under no apprehension, but was a-bed without any care or order. So, that if the duke of Monmouth had got but a very small number of good soldiers about him, the king's affairs would have fallen into great disorder.

The duke of Monmouth had almost surprised lord Feversham and all about him, while they were a-bed. He got in between two bodies, into which the army lay divided. He now saw his error in lingering so long. He began to want bread, and to be so straitened that

there was a necessity of pushing for a speedy decision. He was so misled in his march that he lost an hour's time ; and when he came near the army, there was an inconsiderable ditch ; in the passing which he lost so much more time, that the officers had leisure to rise and be dressed, now they had the alarm ; and they put themselves in order. Yet the duke of Monmouth's foot stood longer, and fought better than could have been expected : especially when the small body of horse they had ran upon the first charge ; the blame of which was cast upon lord Grey. The foot being thus forsaken, and galled by the cannon, did run at last. About a thousand of them were killed on the spot, and fifteen hundred were taken prisoners. Their numbers when fullest were between five and six thousand.

The duke of Monmouth left the field too soon for a man of courage, who had such high pretensions ; for a few days before he had suffered himself to be called king, which did him no service, even among those that followed him. He rode towards Dorsetshire, and when his horse could carry him no further, he changed clothes with a shepherd, and went as far as his legs could carry him, being accompanied only with a German, whom he had brought over with him. At last, when he could go no further, he lay down in a field where there was hay and straw, with which they covered themselves, so that they hoped to lie there unseen till night. Parties went out on all hands to take prisoners. The shepherd was found by the lord Lumley in the duke of Monmouth's clothes ; so this put him on his track, and having some dogs with them they followed the scent, and came to the place where the duke of Monmouth lay. So was he taken in a very indecent dress and posture.

His body was quite sunk with fatigue, and his mind was now so low, that he begged his life in a manner that agreed ill with the courage of the former parts of it. He called for pen, ink, and paper, and wrote to the earl of Feversham, and both to the queen and the queen dowager, to intercede with the king for his life. The king's temper, as well as his interest, made it so impossible to hope for that that it showed a great meanness in him to ask it in such terms as he used in his letters. He was carried up to Whitehall, where the king examined him in person ; which was thought very indecent, since he was resolved not to pardon him. He made new and unbecoming submissions and insinuated a readiness to change his religion ; for he said the king knew what his first education was in religion. There were no discoveries to be got from him, for the attempt was too rash to be well concerted, or to be so deep laid that many were involved in the guilt of it. He was examined on Monday, and orders were given for his execution on Wednesday.

15. THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS

[BISHOP BURNET, *History of my own Times*]

In 1687 James II issued a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending by his own authority all the laws against Roman Catholics and Protestant Nonconformists. This Declaration the clergy were ordered to read to their congregations. Seven bishops presented a protest, and were brought to trial on the charge of publishing a seditious libel.

When the day fixed for their trial came, there was a vast concourse. Westminster-hall, and all the places about, were full of people, who were strangely affected

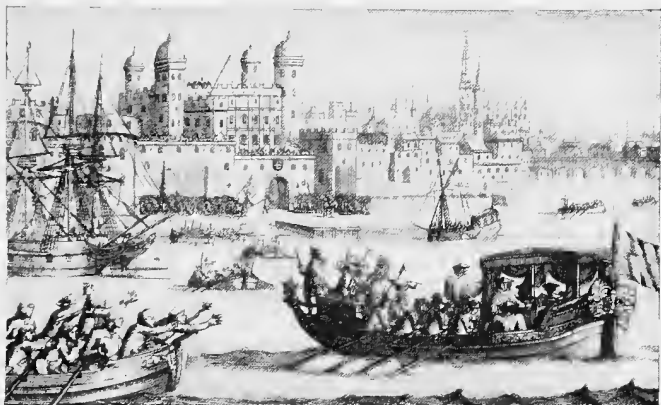
with the matter. Even the army, that was then encamped on Hounslow Heath, showed such a disposition to mutiny, that it gave the king no small uneasiness. The trial came on, which was chiefly managed against the bishops by Sir William Williams. He had been speaker in two successive parliaments, and was a zealous promoter of the exclusion : and he had continued many years a bold preacher in all causes against the court : but he was a corrupt and vicious man, who had no principles but followed his own interests. Sawyer, the attorney-general, who had for many years served the ends of the court in a most abject and obsequious manner, would not support the dispensing power ; so he was turned out, Powis being advanced to be attorney-general ; and Williams was made solicitor-general. Powis acted his part in this trial as fairly as his post could admit of. But Williams took very indecent liberties. And he had great advantages over Sawyer and Finch, who were among the bishops' counsel, by reflecting on the precedents and proceedings during their being the king's counsel. The king's counsel could not have full proof that the bishops' hands were truly theirs, and were forced to have recourse to the confession that they had made at the council board : which was thought very dishonourable, since they had made that confession in confidence, trusting to the king's honour, though it did not appear that any promise was made, that no advantage should be taken of that confession. No proof was brought of their publishing it, which was the main point. The presenting it to the king, and afterwards their owning it to be their petition, when it was put to them, at the council board, was all that the king's counsel could offer for proof of this ;

which was an apparent strain, in which even those judges that were surest to the court did not seem to be satisfied. It was much urged against them, that this petition was a libel, tending to the defaming the king's government.

But to this it was answered, that they having received an order, to which they found they could not give obedience, thought it was incumbent on them, as bishops and as subjects to lay before the king their reasons for it : all subjects had a right to petition the king : they, as peers, were of his great council, and so had yet a better claim to that : and that more particularly in matters of religion ; for the act of uniformity in queen Elizabeth's time had required them under a curse to look carefully after these matters ; the dispensing power had been often brought into debate in parliament, and was always voted to be against law ; and the late king had yielded the point by recalling his declarations : so they thought, they had a right to represent these things to the king. And occasion was often taken to reflect on the dispensing power. To this the king's counsel replied, that the votes of one or both houses were not laws till they were enacted by king and parliament : and the late king's passing once from a point of prerogative did not give it up, but only waived it for that time : they urged much the sacredness of the king's authority : that a paper might be true in fact, and yet be a libel ; that in parliament the two houses had a right to petition, but it was sedition to do it in a point of government out of parliament.

The trial did last long, above ten hours. The crowds continued in expectation all the while, and expressed so great concern for the bishops, that the witnesses who

were brought against them were not only treated with much scorn and loud laughter, upon every occasion, but seemed to be in such danger, that they escaped narrowly, going away by a back passage. Two of the judges, Powel and Halloway delivered their opinion, that there was no seditious matter in the petition, and that it was no libel. Wright was now brought into this court and made chief justice : and Herbert was made chief justice of the common pleas : Herbert was with the court in



The Seven Bishops on their way to the Tower

the main of the king's dispensing power, but was against them in most particulars : so he could not serve their ends in this court. Wright was the more proper tool. He in his charge called the petition a libel : but he did not think the publication was proved.

The jury was fairly returned. When they were shut up, they were soon agreed upon their verdict, to acquit the bishops. But it was thought to be both the more solemn, and the safer way, to continue shut up till the

morning. The king still flattered himself with the hope that the bishops would be brought in guilty. He went that morning to the camp : for the ill humour the army was in the day before, made him think it necessary to go and keep them in awe and order, by his own presence.

The court sat again next day. And then the jury came in with their verdict. Upon which there were such shoutings, so long continued, and as it were echoed into the city, that all people were struck with it. Every man seemed transported with joy. Bonfires were made all about the streets. And the news going over the nation, produced the like rejoicings and bonfires all over England. The king's presence kept the army in some order. But he was no sooner gone out of the camp than he was followed with an universal shouting, as if it had been a victory obtained. And so fatally was the king pushed on to his ruin, that he seemed not to be, by all this, enough convinced of the folly of those violent counsels.

16. THE MASSACRE OF GLENCOE

[BISHOP BURNET, *History of my own Times*]

Many of the Scottish clans at first refused to accept the Revolution of 1689. The massacre of Glencoe was an ugly incident in the course of the proceedings taken to secure the quiet of the Highlands.

There was at this time, a very barbarous massacre committed in Scotland, which showed both the cruelty and the treachery of some of those who had unhappily insinuated themselves into the king's confidence. The earl of Bredalbane formed a scheme of quieting all the

Highlanders, if the king would give twelve or fifteen thousand pounds for doing it, which was remitted down from England : and this was to be divided among the heads of the tribes or clans of the highlanders. He employed his emissaries among them, and told them the best service they could do king James was, to lie quiet, and reserve themselves to a better time : and if they would take the oaths, the king would be contented with that, and they were to have a share of this sum that was sent down to buy their quiet. But this came to nothing ; their demands rose high ; they knew this lord had money to distribute among them ; they believed he intended to keep the best part of it to himself ; so they asked more than he could give. Among the most clamorous and obstinate of these were the Macdonalds of Glencoe, who were believed guilty of much robbery and many murders, and so had gained too much by their pilfering war to be easily brought to give it over. The head of that valley had so particularly provoked lord Bredalbane, that as his scheme was quite defeated by the opposition that he raised, so he designed a severe revenge. The king had, by a proclamation, offered an indemnity to all the Highlanders that had been in arms against him, upon their coming in, by a prefixed day, to take the oaths : the day had been twice or thrice prolonged, and it was at last carried to the end of the year 1691 ; with a positive threatening of proceeding to military execution against such as should not come into his obedience by the last day of December.

All were so terrified that they came in : and even that Macdonald went to the governor of Fort William on the last of December, and offered to take the oaths ; but he, being only a military man, could not, or would

not, tender them, and Macdonald was forced to seek for some of the legal magistrates to tender them to him. The snows were then fallen, so four or five days passed before he could come to a magistrate: he took the oaths in his presence on the fourth or fifth of January, when, by the strictness of law, he could claim no benefit by it. The matter was signified to the council, and the person had a reprimand for giving him the oaths when the day was past.

This was kept up from the king: and the earl of Bredalbane came to court to give an account of his diligence, and to bring back the money, since he could not do the service for which he had it. He informed against this Macdonald, as the chief person who had defeated that good design: and that he might both gratify his own revenge, and render the king odious to all the Highlanders he proposed that orders should be sent for a military execution on those of Glencoe. An instruction was drawn by the secretary of state, lord Stair, to be both signed and countersigned by the king (that so he might bear no part of the blame, but that it might lie wholly on the king), that such as had not taken the oaths by the time limited should be shut out of the benefit of the indemnity, and be received only upon mercy. But when it was found that this would not authorise what was intended, a second order was got to be signed and countersigned, that if the Glencoe men could be separated from the rest of the Highlanders, some examples might be made of them, in order to strike terror into the rest. The king signed this without any inquiry about it: for he was too apt to sign papers in a hurry, without examining the importance of them. This was one effect of his slowness in dispatching

business ; for, as he was apt to suffer things to run on till there was a great heap of papers laid before him, so then he signed them a little precipitately. But all this while the king knew nothing of Macdonald's offering to take the oaths within the time, nor of his having taken them soon after it was passed, when he came to a proper magistrate. As these orders were sent down, the secretary of state wrote many private letters to Levingstone, who commanded in Scotland, giving him a strict charge and particular directions for the execution of them : and he ordered the passes in the valley to be kept, describing them so minutely, that the orders were certainly drawn by one who knew the country well. He gave also a positive direction that no prisoners should be taken, that so the execution might be as terrible as was possible. He pressed this upon Levingstone with strains of vehemence that looked as if there was something more than ordinary in it : he indeed grounded it on his zeal for the king's service, adding, that such rebels and murderers should be made examples of.

In February a company was sent to Glencoe, who were kindly received and quartered over the valley ; the inhabitants thinking themselves safe, and looking for no hostilities. After they had staid a week among them, they took their time in the night and killed about six-and-thirty of them, the rest taking the alarm and escaping. This raised a mighty outcry and was published by the French in their gazettes, and by the Jacobites in their libels, to cast a reproach on the king's government as cruel and barbarous ; though in all other instances it had appeared that his own inclinations were gentle and mild rather to an excess. The

king sent orders to enquire into the matter ; but when the letters written upon this business were all examined, which I myself read, it appeared that so many were involved in the matter, that the king's gentleness prevailed on him to a fault ; and he contented himself with dismissing only the Master of Stair from his service. The Highlanders were so inflamed with this, that they were put in as forward a disposition as the Jacobites could wish for to have rebelled upon the first favourable opportunity : and indeed the not punishing this with a due rigour was the greatest blot in this whole reign and had a very great effect in alienating that nation from the king and his government.

17. THE DEATH OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE

[BISHOP BURNET, *History of my own Times*]

William of Orange died in 1702 from the effects of a fall from his horse.

And now I am arrived at the fatal period of this reign. The king seemed all this winter in a very fair way of recovery ; he had made the royal apartments in Hampton-court very noble, and he was so much pleased with the place, that he went thither once a week, and rode often about the park : in the end of February, the horse he rode on stumbled ; and he, being very feeble, fell off and broke his collar-bone : he seemed to have no other hurt by it and his strength was then so much impaired, that it was not thought necessary to let him blood, no symptom appearing that required it : the bone was well set, and it was thought there was no danger, so he was brought to Kensington that night :

he himself had apprehended all this winter that he was sinking ; he said to the earl of Portland, both before and after, this accident, that he was a dead man : it was not in his legs, nor now in his collar-bone, that he felt himself ill, but all was decayed within, so that he believed he should not be able to go through the fatigue of another campaign. During his illness, he sent a message to the two houses, recommending the union of both kingdoms to them. The occasion of this was a motion that the earl of Nottingham had made, in the house of lords, when the act of abjuration was agreed to : he said, though he had differed from the majority of the house in many particulars relating to it, yet he was such a friend to the designs of the act, that in order to the securing a protestant succession, he thought an union of the whole island was very necessary ; and that therefore they should consider how both kingdoms might be united ; but in order to this, and previous to it, he moved that an address should be made to the king, that he would be pleased to dissolve the parliament now sitting in Scotland, and to call a new one : since the present parliament was at first a convention and then turned to a parliament and was continued ever since, so that the legality of it might be called in question ; and it was necessary that so important a thing as the union of both the kingdoms should be treated in a parliament against the constitution of which no exception could lie. The motion was warmly opposed ; for that nation was then in such a ferment, that the calling a new parliament would have been probably attended with bad consequences ; so that project was let fall, and no progress was made upon the king's message. On the third of March, the king had a sort of fit of ague, which he

regarded so little, that he said nothing of it : it returned on him next day : I happened to be then near him, and observed such a visible alteration, as gave me a very ill opinion of his condition ; after that he kept his chamber till Friday : every day it was given out that his fits abated ; on Friday, things had so melancholy a face, that his being dangerously ill was no longer concealed ; there was now such a difficulty of breathing, and his pulse was so sunk, that the alarm was given out every where. He had sent the earl of Albemarle over to Holland to put things in a readiness for an early campaign. He came back on the 7th of March in the morning, with so good an account of every thing, that, if matters of that kind could have wrought on the king, it must have revived him ; but the coldness with which he received it showed how little hopes were left : soon after, he said “*Je tire vers ma fin*” (I draw towards my end). The act of abjuration and the money bill were now prepared for the royal assent, the council ordered all things to be in a readiness for the passing of those bills by a special commission, which according to form must be signed by the king in the presence of the lord keeper and the clerks of the parliament : they came to the king when his fits began, and stayed some hours before they were admitted ; some in the house of commons moved for an adjournment, though the lords had sent to them not to adjourn for some time : by this means they hoped the bill of abjuration should be lost ; so they waited till the king had signed the commission and the bills, and thus those acts passed in the last day of the king's life.

The king's strength and pulse was still sinking, as the difficulty of breathing increased, so that no hope

was left. The archbishop of Canterbury prayed on Saturday some time with him, but he was then so weak that he could scarcely speak, but gave him his hand, as a sign that he firmly believed the truth of the Christian religion, and said he intended to receive the sacrament : his reason and all his senses were entire to the last minute : about five in the morning he desired the sacrament, and went through the office with great appearance of seriousness, but could not express himself ; when this was done, he called for the earl of Albemarle, and gave him a charge to take care of his papers. He thanked Mr Auverquerque for his long and faithful services. He took leave of the duke of Ormond, and called for the earl of Portland, but before he came his voice quite failed, so he took him by the hand, and carried it to his heart with great tenderness. He was often looking up to heaven, in many short ejaculations. Between seven and eight o'clock the rattle began, the commendatory prayer was said for him, and as it ended he died, in the fifty-second year of his age, having reigned thirteen years and a few days.

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CHAPTER IV

ANNE, GEORGE I, AND GEORGE II. 1702—1760

AUTHORITIES CITED.

(1) DANIEL DEFOE, more familiar as the author of *Robinson Crusoe*; a dissenter, journalist, and pamphleteer of extraordinary power. His *History of the Union* was a semi-official record. His *Tour through Great Britain* gives a detailed account of the whole country, from personal observation.

(2) JONATHAN SWIFT, in the reign of Queen Anne, was the most powerful pamphleteer on the side of the Tories, whose point of view is presented in the tracts cited.

(3) LORD HERVEY wrote memoirs of the reign of George II. He had an intimate knowledge of the court and the politics of his day; he was a supporter of Sir Robert Walpole and a friend of Queen Caroline.

(4) JOHN HOME, author of the celebrated play *Douglas*, was a young man at the time of the "Forty-five." His history of the insurrection is careful and fair, and he gathered information from many eye-witnesses.

(5) HORACE WALPOLE, a younger son of Sir Robert, one of the most famous of letter-writers and gossips, was too much of a dilettante for active politics, but knew everybody and heard everything. His memoirs of the reigns of George II and George III give a lively impression of persons and events.

1. PREPARING THE TREATY OF UNION IN SCOTLAND

[DANIEL DEFOE, *History of the Union*]

In 1706 terms were arranged of a treaty for the incorporation of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, which for a hundred years had been united, but only by the fact that they had the same king or queen. The Union gave them a single Legislature and a single commercial system ; but the proposals were carried in Scotland only with extreme difficulty. A stage of the proceedings in Scotland is here described.

The Commission of the General Assembly¹ having sat from the 9th instant, had been in several warm debates about the matter, in what manner they should behave themselves in this juncture. Some hot gentlemen had given them disturbance enough about the matter of the fast, and without doors it was reported they would protest against the Union.

But the generality being governed by more temper and moderation than some people hoped for, all things went on there peaceably, I mean, as to their public resolutions ; and the address to the Parliament was conceived in as moderate terms as could be expected.

The answer to it was also satisfactory enough, in that they declared they would go upon the address before anything was concluded ; it was, however, warmly pressed in the Parliament, that the said address should be immediately entered upon, before they went on upon the Union ; but this, as another advantage designed for delay, was checked, and the answer in the minute agreed upon.

Great pains were taken also at this time to make the

¹ The General Assembly of the Church.

Commission of the Assembly uneasy at this answer, as not satisfactory ; jealousies were fomented, and suggestions whispered about from one to another, as if the Parliament designed to postpone the affairs of the Church to the last, and so perhaps drop them at once ; this obtained but too much, and being put forward by warm and uneasy people, grew higher and higher, and helped on the inflammations which unhappily followed.

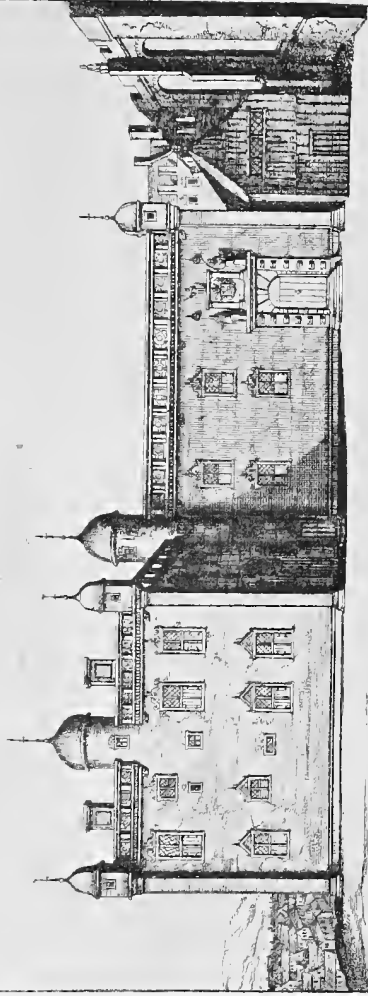
The subject of the first article, though not named in the minutes, was also re-assumed in the discourses of this day, and several arguments against the Union itself, as an incorporating Union, were brought, in order to prove it impracticable, inconvenient, and disadvantageous to Scotland ; and therefore that they ought rather to proceed upon the consideration of the general, before they went on to the particular articles.

This, however, was only discoursed, and the reading of the several articles having been already approved, they proceeded to the reading the rest of the articles, as in the minutes.

In the reading the second article, the English act of Parliament for limiting the succession, &c. was discoursed on, and much was said about the English limitations : and some people that had been of another mind formerly, seemed to discover an inclination of coming into the succession with limitations, and began to enter into the matter of limitations ; but this being remote to the work, was dropt for the present, and we shall meet with it again in its place.

The third article also relating to uniting the Parliaments of both kingdoms was read, and some took the liberty to jest with it as a chimerical calculation, and that they had no power to alter the representative of

CVRIA Supremi Conventus Ordinum Regni Scotiae,
Vulgo Domus Parliamenti,
The Parliament Houſe in Edinburgh, by J. G.



Parliament House, Edinburgh

the nation ; that Scotland could not consent to be governed by any other representative, than they were now ; and that, if the Parliaments were to be made one, Scotland's whole Parliament ought to be joined to the English Parliament, and that Scotland ought no more to abridge her representatives than England, and the like.

But the unreasonableness of this was urged from the disparity in extent of the country, number of people, and proportion of taxes, of which hereafter.

The five ensuing articles being all upon privileges of trade, excises, and customs, the discourses were very general on both sides, and those things seemed referred to more debates afterwards. All that was said of those things now, seemed rather to tend, if possible, to persuade the people in general that the Union was impracticable, that Scotland could not come into the taxes, and that the equalities talked of would ruin their trade and starve their poor.

Without doors, strange use was made of these articles of taxes, and the people were made to believe their salt, their malt, their beer, their fish, would all be loaded with insupportable taxes, and their whole trade should be ruined, their houses plundered for taxes, and their people starved ; and no man that shall see with what frightful apprehensions the poor people were possessed, will any more wonder they were so easily brought into tumults and disorders.

Nota. This day there were strong rumours about the town, of the mob coming up to the Parliament, to demand that the crown and sceptre of Scotland should not be given up and carried away to England. This was the effect of some popular speeches, let fall by

those gentlemen who opposed the treaty and industriously spread about the town a report that the sovereignty of Scotland was to be subjected to the English ; and the poorer sort that understood less, had the same thing in other words, viz. that the crown of Scotland was betrayed ; that it was to be carried to England, and never to be seen here more. Of which see at large in its place.

The House, however, took no notice of this yet, as being a rumour only, though the members were not without apprehensions, that it might rise to a greater height ; and that they might come to be insulted, even in the House, as indeed was afterwards very probable.

2. THE FALL OF THE WHIGS

[JONATHAN SWIFT, *The Changes in the Queen's Ministry*]

In 1710 the war of the Spanish Succession was still in full operation.

For some time past it had been controlled by Marlborough, Godolphin, and the Whigs. During the year, Harley, the leader of the Tories, succeeded in bringing about the fall of the Whigs and the accession of the Tories to power.

It was I think during this period of time that the duke of Marlborough, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of money, or by the rash counsels of his wife the duchess, made that bold attempt of desiring the queen to give him a commission to be general for life. Her majesty's answer was, that she would take time to consider it ; and in the meanwhile the duke advised with the lord Cowper, then chancellor, about the form in which the commission should be drawn. The chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to dissuade

the duke from engaging in so dangerous an affair, and protested he would never put the great seal to such a commission. But the queen was highly alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding in the duke; and talked to a person whom she had taken into confidence, as if she apprehended an attempt upon the crown. The duke of Argyle, and one or two more lords, were (as I have been told) in a very private manner brought to the queen. This duke was under great obligations to the duke of Marlborough, who had placed him in a high station in the army, preferred many of his friends, and procured him the Garter. But his unquiet and ambitious spirit, never easy while there was any one above him, made him, upon some trifling resentments, conceive an inveterate hatred against his general. When he was consulted what course should be taken upon the duke of Marlborough's request to be general for life, and whether any danger might be apprehended from the refusal, I was told he suddenly answered that her majesty need not be in pain, for he would undertake, whenever she commanded, to seize the duke at the head of his troops, and bring him away either dead or alive.

About this time happened the famous trial of Dr Sacheverell, which arose from a foolish passionate pique of the earl of Godolphin, whom this divine was supposed, in a sermon, to have reflected on under the name of Volpone, as my lord Somers a few months after confessed to me; and he said, at the same time, that he had earnestly and in vain endeavoured to dissuade the earl from that attempt. However, the impeachment went on, in the form and manner which every body knows; and therefore there need not be any thing said of it here.

Mr Harley, who came up to town during the time of the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs Masham, privately brought to the queen, and in some meetings easily convinced her majesty of the dispositions of her people, as they appeared in the course of that trial, in favour of the Church, and against the measures of those in her service. It was not without a good deal of difficulty that Mr Harley was able to procure this private access to the queen; the duchess of Marlborough, by her emissaries, watching all the avenues to the backstairs, and upon all occasions discovering their jealousy of him; whereof he told me in a passage, no otherwise worth relating than as it gives an idea of an insolent, jealous minister, who would wholly engross the power and favour of his sovereign. Mr Harley, upon his removal from the secretary's office, by the intrigues of the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin, as I have above related, going out of town, was met by the latter of these two lords near Kensington Gate. The earl, in a high fit of jealousy, goes immediately to the queen, reproaches her for privately seeing Mr Harley, and was hardly so civil as to be convinced by her majesty's frequent protestations to the contrary. These suspicions, I say, made it hard for her majesty and Mr Harley to have private interviews; neither had he made use of the opportunities he met with to open himself so much to her as she seemed to expect, and desired; although Mrs Masham in right of station in the bedchamber, had taken all proper occasions of pursuing what Mr Harley had begun. In this critical juncture the queen, hemmed in and as it were imprisoned by the duchess of Marlborough and her creatures, was at a loss how to proceed. One evening a letter was

brought to Mr Harley, all dirty, and by the hand of a very ordinary messenger. He read the superscription, and saw it was the queen's writing. He sent for the messenger, who said he knew not whence the letter came, but that it was delivered him by an undergardener, I forget whether of Hampton Court or Kensington. The letter mentioned the difficulties her majesty was under; blaming him for not speaking with more freedom and more particularly, and desiring his assistance. With this encouragement, he went more frequently, although still as private as possible, to the backstairs; and from that time began to have entire credit with the queen. He then told her of the dangers to her crown, as well as to the Church and monarchy itself, from the counsels and actions of some of her servants: that she ought gradually to lessen the exorbitant power of the duke and duchess of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin by taking the disposition of employments into her own hands: that it did not become her to be a slave to a party, but to reward those who may deserve by their duty and loyalty, whether they were such as were called of the high Church or low Church. In short, whatever views he had then in his own breast, or how far soever he intended to proceed, the turn of his whole discourse was intended, in appearance, only to put the queen upon what they called a moderating scheme; which, however, made so strong an impression upon her, that when this minister, led by the necessity of affairs, the general disposition of the people, and probably by his own inclinations, put her majesty upon greater lengths than she had first intended, it put him upon innumerable difficulties, and some insuperable; as we shall see in the progress of this change.

3. TORY VIEW OF THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

[JONATHAN SWIFT, *The Conduct of the Allies*]

The Tories were determined to bring the war to a close. Their great plea was that it was now being fought entirely for the benefit of Holland and Austria, and not at all for that of Great Britain.

I say not this by any means to detract from the army or its leaders. Getting into the enemy's lines, passing rivers, and taking towns, may be actions attended with many glorious circumstances ; but when all this brings no real solid advantage to us ; when it has no other end than to enlarge the territories of the Dutch, and to increase the fame and wealth of our general : I conclude, however it comes about, that things are not as they should be, and that surely our forces and money might be better employed, both towards reducing our enemy, and working out some benefit for ourselves. But the case is still much harder ; we are destroying many thousand lives, exhausting our substance, not for our own interest which would be but common prudence ; not for a thing indifferent, which would be sufficient folly ; but perhaps to our own destruction, which is perfect madness. We may live to feel the effects of our own valour more sensibly than all the consequences we imagine from the dominions of Spain in the duke of Anjou. We have conquered a noble territory for the States, that will maintain sufficient troops to defend itself, and feed many hundred thousand inhabitants ; where all encouragement will be given to introduce and improve manufactures, which was the only advantage they wanted ; and which, added to their skill, industry

and parsimony, will enable them to undersell us in every market of the world.

Our supply of forty thousand men, according to the first stipulation, added to the quotas of the emperor and Holland, which they were obliged to furnish, would have made an army of near two hundred thousand, exclusive of garrisons : enough to withstand all the power that France could bring against it ; and we might have employed the rest much better, both for the common cause, and our own advantage.

The war in Spain must be imputed to the credulity of our ministers, who suffered themselves to be persuaded by the imperial court that the Spaniards were so violently affected to the house of Austria as, upon the first appearance there with a few troops under the archduke, the whole kingdom would immediately revolt. This we tried ; and found the emperor to have deceived either us or himself. Yet there we drove on the war at a prodigious disadvantage, with great expense ; and by a most corrupt management, the only general who, by a course of conduct and fortune almost miraculous, had nearly put us into possession of the kingdom, was left wholly unsupported, exposed to the envy of his rivals, disappointed by the caprices of a young inexperienced prince, under the guidance of a rapacious German ministry, and at last called home in discontent. By which our armies, both in Spain and Portugal, were made a sacrifice to avarice, ill conduct, or treachery. In common prudence we should either have pushed that war with the utmost vigour in so fortunate a juncture, especially since the gaining of that kingdom was the great point for which we pretended to continue the war ; or at least, when we had found or

made that design impracticable, we should not have gone on in so expensive a management of it, but have kept our troops on the defensive in Catalonia, and pursued some other way more effectual for distressing the common enemy and advantaging ourselves.

And what a noble field of honour and profit had we before us wherein to employ the best of our strength, which, against the maxims of British policy, we suffered to lie wholly neglected ! I have sometimes wondered how it came to pass that the style of “ maritime powers,” by which our allies in a sort of contemptuous manner usually couple us with the Dutch, did never put us in mind of the sea ; and while some politicians were showing us the way to Spain by Flanders, others to Savoy or Naples, that the West Indies should never come into their heads. With half the charge we have been at, we might have maintained our original quota of forty thousand men in Flanders, and at the same time by our fleets and naval forces have so distressed the Spaniards in the north and south seas of America as to prevent any returns of money from thence except in our own bottoms. This is what best became us to do as a maritime power ; this with any common degree of success would soon have compelled France to the necessities of a peace, and Spain to acknowledge the archduke. But while we for ten years have been squandering away our money upon the continent, France has been wisely engrossing all the trade of Peru, going directly with their ships to Lima and other ports, and there receiving ingots of gold and silver for French goods of little value ; which, besides the mighty advantage to their nation at present, may divert the channel of that trade for the future, so beneficial to us,

who used to receive annually such vast sums at Cadiz for our goods sent thence to the Spanish West Indies. All this we tamely saw and suffered, without the least attempting to hinder it ; except what was performed by some private men at Bristol, who, inflamed by a true spirit of courage and industry, did about three years ago, with a few vessels fitted out at their own charge, make a most successful voyage into those parts ; took one of the Acapulco ships, very narrowly missed of the other, and are lately returned laden with unenvied wealth, to show us what might have been done with the like management by a public undertaking. At least, we might easily have prevented those great returns of money to France and Spain, although we could not have taken it ourselves. And if it be true, as the advocates for war would have it, that the French are now so impoverished, in what condition must they have been if that issue of wealth had been stopped ?

But great events often turn on very small circumstances. It was the kingdom's misfortune that the sea was not the duke of Marlborough's element ; otherwise the whole force of the war would infallibly have been bestowed there, infinitely to the advantage of his country, which would then have gone hand in hand with his own. But it is very truly objected, that if we alone had made such an attempt as this, Holland would have been jealous ; or, if we had done it in conjunction with Holland, the house of Austria would have been discontented.

This has been the style of late years ; which whoever introduced among us, they have taught our allies to speak after them. Otherwise it could hardly enter into any imagination, that while we are confederates in

a war with those who are to have the whole profit, and who leave a double share of the burden upon us, we dare not think of any design (although against the common enemy) where there is the least prospect of doing good to our own country, for fear of giving umbrage and offence to our allies, while we are ruining ourselves to conquer provinces and kingdoms for them. I therefore confess with shame that this objection is true, for it is very well known that, while the design of Mr Hill's expedition remained a secret, it was suspected in Holland and Germany to be intended against Peru ; whereupon the Dutch made everywhere their public complaints ; and the ministers at Vienna talked of it as an insolence in the queen to attempt such an undertaking ; the failure of which (partly by the accidents of a storm, and partly by the stubbornness or treachery of some in that colony for whose relief and at whose entreaty it was in some measure designed) is no objection at all to an enterprise so well concerted and with such fair probability of success.

It was something singular that the States should express their uneasiness when they thought we intended to make some attempt in the Spanish West Indies ; because it is agreed between us, whatever is conquered there by us or them shall belong to the conqueror ; which is the only article that I can call to mind in all our treaties or stipulations with any view of interest to this kingdom ; and for that very reason, I suppose, among others, it has altogether been neglected. Let those who think this a severe reflection examine the whole management of the present war by sea and land, with all our alliances, treaties, stipulations, and conventions, and consider whether the whole does not look

as if some particular care and industry had been used to prevent any benefit or advantage that might possibly accrue to Britain.

This kind of treatment from our principal allies has taught the same dialect to all the rest ; so that there is hardly a petty prince whom we half maintain by subsidies and pensions, who is not ready upon every occasion to threaten us that he will recall his troops (although they must rob or starve at home) if we refuse to comply with him in any demand however unreasonable.

4. A COMMERCIAL CENTRE

[DANIEL DEFOE, *Tour through Great Britain*]

In the reign of George I, Daniel Defoe made a tour through Great Britain in which he recorded the prevailing industrial, commercial and social conditions. His description of Leeds is selected as characteristic.

Leeds is a large, wealthy, and populous Town, standing on the North Bank of the river Aire, with large suburbs on the South Side, and both joined by a stately, and prodigiously strong Stone Bridge so large, and so wide, that formerly the Cloth Market was kept upon it ; and therefore the Refreshment given the Clothiers by the Inn-keepers, being a Pot of Ale, a Noggin of Porrage, and a Trencher of broiled or roast Beef, for Twopence, is called the Brigg-shot to this Day.

The increase of the Manufactures and of the Trade, soon made the Market too great to be confined to the Brigg as it is called there, and it is now kept in the High Street, beginning from the Bridge, and running up North almost to the Market house, where the

ordinary Market for Provisions begins; which also is the greatest of its kind in all the North of England. You may judge of the Plenty of it, when even five hundred Load of Apples have been numbered by the Mayor's Officers in a Day.

But the Cloth Market is chiefly to be admired as a Prodigy of its Kind, and not to be equalled in the World. The Market for Serges at Exctcr is indeed a wonderful Thing, and the Money returned very great; but the Market there is but once a Week, on Tuesdays and Saturdays.

Early in the Morning, there are Tressels placed in two Rows in the Street, sometimes two Rows on a Side, but always one at least; Boards are laid cross these Tressels, which make a Kind of temporary Counter on either side, from one End of the Street to the other.

The Clothiers come early in the Morning with their Cloth; and as few bring more than one Piece, the Market being so frequent, they go into the Inns and Publick-houses with it, and there set it down.

At about Six o'Clock in the Summer, and about Seven in the Winter, the Clothiers being all come by that Time, the Market Bell at the old Chapel by the Bridge rings; upon which it would surprize a Stranger to see in how few Minutes, without Hurry or Noise, and not the least Disorder, the whole Market is filled, and all the Boards upon the Tressels are covered with Cloth, as close to one another as the Pieces can lye longways, each Proprietor standing behind his own piece, who form a Mercantile Regiment as it were, drawn up in a double Line, in as great Order and Expedition as a Military one.

As soon as the Bell has done Ringing, the Factors and Buyers of all Sorts enter the Market, and walk up and down between the Rows, as their Occasions direct. Some of them have their foreign Letters of Orders, with Patterns sealed on them, in their Hands; the Colours of which they match, by holding them to the Cloths they think they agree to. When they have pitched upon their Cloth, they lean over to the Clothier and by a Whisper, in the fewest Words imaginable, the Price is stated; one asks, the other bids; and 'tis agreed, or not agreed, in a Moment.

The Reason of this prudent Silence, is owing to the Clothiers standing so near to one another; for 'tis not reasonable that one Trader should know another's Traffick.

If a Merchant has bidden a Clothier a Price, and he will not take it, he may go after him to his House, and tell him he has considered of it, and is willing to let him have it; but they are not to make any new Agreement for it, so as to remove the Market from the Street to the Merchant's House.

The Buyers generally walk up and down twice on each Side of the Rows, and in little more than an Hour all the Business is done. In less than half an hour you will perceive the Cloths begin to move off, the Clothier taking it upon his Shoulder to carry it to the Merchant's House. At about half an Hour after Eight the Market Bell rings again, upon which the Buyers immediately disappear, the Cloth is all sold; or if here and there a Piece happens not to be bought, it is carried back to the Inne, and not a Piece of it left to be seen in the Market. By Nine O'clock the Boards and Tressels are removed, and the Street left at Liberty for the Market

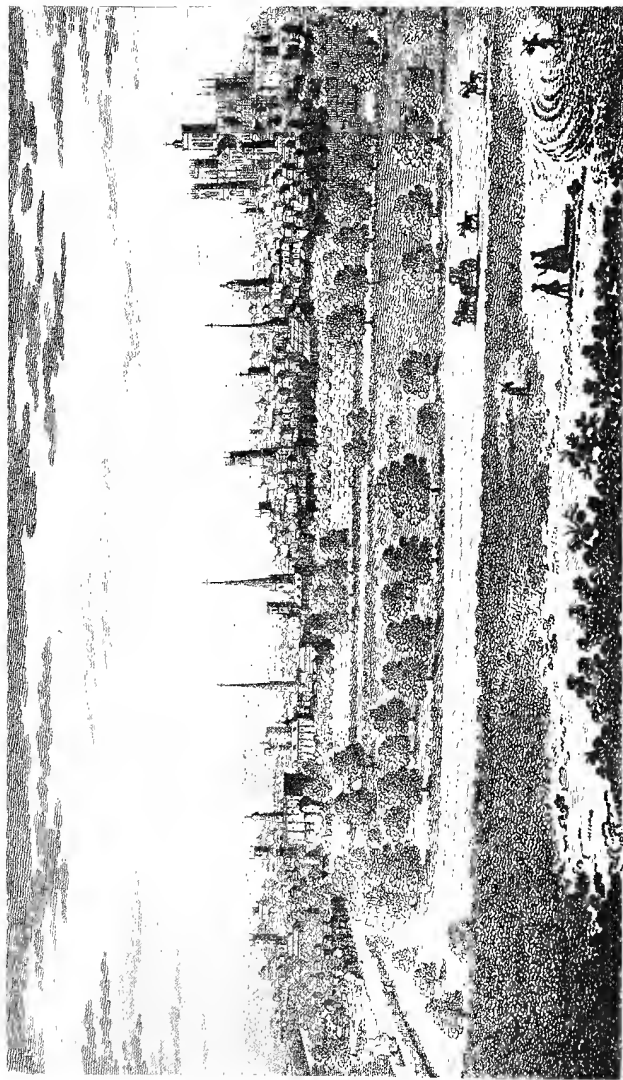
People of other Professions, the Linen Drapers, Shoemakers, Hard-ware Men, and the like.

Thus you see Ten or Twenty thousand Pounds worth of Cloth, and sometimes much more, bought and sold in little more than an Hour, the Laws of the Market being the most strictly observed, that I ever saw in any Market in England.

It will be asked, where all these Goods, as well here as at Wakefield, and at Halifax, are vended and disposed of.

First, I would observe, there is a Home-consumption of a Sort of Goods, as I may say, everywhere made use of, for cloathing the ordinary People, who cannot go to the Price of the fine Cloths made, as we formerly mentioned, in the Western Counties of England. There are for this Purpose a Set of travelling Merchants in Leeds, who go with Drovers of Pack Horses, to all the Fairs and Market Towns almost over the whole Island. By this means they supply not the common People by retail, which would denominate them Pedlars indeed, but the Shops by Wholesale; giving large Credit, and are to all Intents and Purposes very considerable Traders. 'Tis ordinary for one of these Men to carry a thousand Pounds worth of Cloth with him at a Time, and having sold it at the Fairs or Towns where he goes, he sends his Horses back for as much more, and this very often in a Summer; for they travel chiefly in Summer, rather than in Winter, because of the Badness of the Roads.

Another sort of Buyers are those who buy to send to London, either by Commissions from thence, or that give Commissions to Factors and Warehouse-keepers in London to sell for them. These Factors and Warehouse-keepers not only supply all the Shop-keepers and



South-east view of York
(From an old print)

Wholesale Men in London, but sell also very great Quantities to the Merchants, as well for Exportation to the English Colonies in America which take off great Quantities of the coarse Goods, especially to New England, New York, Virginia, &c., as also to the Russia Merchants, who send an exceeding Quantity to Petersburgh, Riga, Dantziek, Narva, and to Sweden and Pomerania.

The third sort of Buyers, and the most considerable, no one will dispute being Merchants, such as receive Commissions from Abroad to buy Cloth for the Merchants chiefly in Hamburgh, and in Holland and in several other Parts. These are not only many in Number, but some of them very considerable in their Dealings, and correspond as far as Nuremberg, Frankfort, Leipsick, and even to Vienna and Augsburgh, in the farthest Provinces of Germany.

On account of this Trade it was, that an Act of Parliament was obtained, as I observed, for making the Rivers Aire and Calder navigable, which was contrived by Alderman Piekering, the celebrated Author of the *Marrow of Mathematicks*, and performed at the Expence of several private Merchants, without calling in the assistance of the Nobility and Gentry. By this means a communication was opened from Leeds and Wakefield to York and Hull, so that all the Woollen Manufactures which those Merchants now export by Commission, as above, is carried by Water to Hull, and there shipped for Holland, Bremen, Hamburgh, and the Baltick.

5. IRELAND IN 1727

[SWIFT, *A Short View of the State of Ireland*]

Jonathan Swift, Dean of St Patrick's in Dublin, championed the cause of Ireland.

As to the first cause of a nation's riches, being the fertility of the soil as well as temperature of the climate, we have no reason to complain ; for although the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bog and rock and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in England, yet the native productions which both kingdoms deal in, are very near on an equality in point of goodness, and might, with the same encouragement, be as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals ; in some of which, however, we are only defective in point of skill and industry.

In the second, which is the industry of the people, our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of discouragements.

The conveniency of ports and havens, which nature has bestowed so liberally on this kingdom, is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon.

As to shipping of its own, Ireland is so utterly unprovided, that of all the excellent timber cut down within these fifty years, it can hardly be said that the nation has received the benefit of one valuable house to dwell in, or one ship to trade with.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased except to countries

at war with their own prince or state : yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused us in the most momentous parts of commerce ; besides an act of navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed ; and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the rest.

It is too well known that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to ; which is a condition I must call by its true uncontroverted name, for fear of Lord Chief Justice Whitshed's ghost, with his *Libertas et natale solum*¹ written for a motto on his coach, as it stood at the door of the court, while he was perjuring himself to betray both. Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have physic sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution and the nature of their disease ; and thus we are forced to pay five hundred per cent. to decide our properties : in all which we have likewise the honour to be distinguished from the whole race of mankind.

As to the improvement of land, those few who attempt that or planting, through covetousness, or want of skill, generally leave things worse than they were : neither succeeding in trees nor hedges ; and by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the Scythians, are every day depopulating the country.

We are so far from having a king to reside among us, that even the viceroy is generally absent four-fifths of his time in the government.

No strangers from other countries make this a part of their travels ; where they can expect to see nothing but scenes of misery and desolation.

¹ Liberty and my native land.

Those who have the misfortune to be born here, have the least title to any considerable employment, to which they are seldom preferred but upon a political consideration.

One third part of the rents of Ireland is spent in England which, with the profit of employments, pensions, appeals, journeys of pleasure or health, education at the inns of court and both universities, remittances at pleasure, the pay of all superior officers in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to England.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, silver, or even copper. In the Isle of Man they coin their own silver ; every petty prince, vassal to the Emperor, can coin what money he pleases. And in this, as in most of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other states or monarchies that were ever known in the world.

As to the last, or fourteenth article, we take special care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole course of our lives. Both sexes, but especially the women, despise and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even those which are better made than in other countries ; particularly a sort of silk plaid, through which the workmen are forced to run a kind of gold thread, that it may pass for Indian. Even ale and potatoes are imported from England, as well as corn ; and our foreign trade is little more than importation of French wine, for which I am told we pay ready money.

Now, if all this be true, (upon which I could easily enlarge,) I should be glad to know, by what secret method it is that we grow a rich and flourishing people,

without liberty, trade, manufactures, inhabitants, money, or the privilege of coining ; without industry, labour, or improvement of land ; and with more than half the rent and profits of the whole kingdom annually exported, for which we receive not a single farthing : and to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of the North, a trade, casual, corrupted, and at mercy ; and some butter from Cork. If we do flourish, it must be against every law of nature and reason ; like the thorn of Glastonbury, that blossoms in the midst of winter.

Let the worthy commissioners who come from England ride round the kingdom, and observe the face of nature, or the face of the natives ; the improvement of the land ; the thriving numerous plantations ; the noble woods ; the abundance and vicinity of country seats ; the commodious farms, houses and barns ; the towns and villages, where everybody is busy, and thriving with all kind of manufactures ; the shops full of goods wrought to perfection, and filled with customers ; the comfortable diet, and dress, and dwellings of the people ; the vast number of ships in our harbours and docks, and shipwrights in our sea-port towns ; the roads crowded with carriers laden with rich manufactures ; the perpetual concourse to and fro of pompous equipages.

With what envy and admiration would those gentlemen return from so delightful a progress ; what glorious reports would they make, when they went back to England.

But my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer ; for it is manifest that whatever stranger took such a journey, would be apt to think himself travelling in Lapland or Ysland, rather than in a country so

favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil and temperature of climate. The miserable dress, and diet, and dwelling of the people ; the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom ; the old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their stead ; the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness upon butter-milk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an English hog-sty to receive them. These indeed may be comfortable sights to an English speetator, who comes for a short time, only to learn the language, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all his wealth transmitted.

6. LET SLEEPING DOGS LIE

[LORD HERVEY'S *Memoirs*]

Sir Robert Walpole was the real controller of the government of England from 1720-1739. His policy was to avoid all measures, whether good or bad, which would stir up public excitement ; since in his eyes the prime necessities for the country were peace at home and abroad and the aquisition of wealth. Therefore, though he was entirely in favour of toleration he opposed all such active steps for the relief of Dissenters as were likely to arouse partisan disturbances.

The latter end of this summer, 1730, a design was projected among all the Dissenters of England to petition the Parliament in the next session for the repeal of the Corporation and Tests Acts, or at least for an explanation of them in behalf of the Presbyterians, so far as these acts comprehended or affected them.

The Dissenters' plea for asking this favour of the Parliament seemed very natural and reasonable ; they

said they had for above forty years shown themselves steady friends to the constitution of England and the State, and constant supporters of the established government on Revolution principles : they had served hitherto without any reward, and now desired no other gratuity than the bare removal of that unjust distinction made between them and the rest of their fellow-subjects under which they had so long laboured and by which they were excluded from all employments of trust or profit. They said what made this request more reasonable was, that the hardship they now complained of had never been laid upon them at all, had they not originally consented to it themselves, and that the reason of their consenting to it had been merely for the public good and the common Protestant cause ; circumstances at that time requiring their voluntary submission to this self-denial act in order to facilitate the exclusion of Papists from all places of power when this kingdom was on the brink of being subjected to their sway under the authority of a Popish successor. They further added that they had not only always shown themselves unwavering and indefatigable champions for the Protestant succession, but that they had equally proved themselves firm and constant friends to what was called the Whig party, and the set of men now in power ; consequently, if they could not get rid of this stigmatising brand of reproach that declared them unfit to be trusted with any employment in the executive part of the civil government under a Whig Parliament, they could never hope for relief at all, since the other set of men, who called themselves the Church party, and whom they had always opposed, should they come into power, would not only from principle forbear to show the Dissenters

any favour, but would certainly from resentment go still further, and probably load them with some new oppression. Experience had already proved the probability of this conjecture by the Schism Act and other violent measures taken to oppress them in the four last years of Queen Anne's reign. In this manner they expressed their pretensions to the favour they solicited ; and the reason they gave for choosing to push this point immediately was, that as the time of election for a new Parliament was now drawing near, they thought it but reasonable to try whether those who had been so long receiving favours at their hands were ready to repay those favours with a piece of common justice, and if they were not, that the Presbyterians might in the ensuing elections have the prudence at least of being quiet, and forbear making enemies, since they were to despair of making friends.

This design of the Presbyterians put the Administration under great difficulties and into great apprehensions ; they saw the injustice of opposing their petition if it came into Parliament, and the danger there was, on the other hand, of showing it any countenance ; they knew it would seem the last ingratitude in any who called themselves Whigs to reject it, and the highest imprudence to receive it ; for though the clergy had hitherto been kept pretty quiet by nothing being attempted either to restrain their power or to favour their adversaries, yet the ministers were sure that if any step was taken that looked like encouragement to the Dissenters, it would inevitably turn all the parsons to a man, in the approaching elections, against every one that should appear to forward it, and as to those who did not forward it, the (Dissenting) ministers would never give

them a vote again ; and though in every county in England and at every election since the Revolution the Dissenters had hitherto stood by the Whigs with a firmness like that of the *Triarii*¹ of the Roman legion, they would certainly for the future be as little to be depended upon as any of the temporary mercenary auxiliaries of a Cornish borough.

Sir Robert Walpole, therefore, to avoid this dilemma, resolved, if possible, to prevail with the Presbyterians to postpone bringing their petition to Parliament till some more proper opportunity offered....

The Dissenters were so sanguine all over England in this project, that in every county and great town in the kingdom they had meetings to consult upon it and methodise the execution of it, and deputations were sent from every quarter to communicate their resolutions to the body of Dissenters in London, on whom they relied for the solicitation and management of the whole. This enabled Sir Robert Walpole to defeat the project entirely ; for out of the body of the London Dissenters a committee was to be chosen, to treat and confer with the ministers ; and as the honest gentlemen who composed that committee were all monied men of the city and scriveners, who were absolutely dependent on Sir Robert, and chosen by his contrivance, they spoke only as he prompted, and acted only as he guided.

However, to save appearances, everything was to be carried on with the utmost seeming formality ; this packed committee was to meet the Lord Chancellor [King], Mr Onslow, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Lord President of the Council [Wilmington], the two Secretaries of State [Duke of

¹ The third line, composed of Veterans.

Newcastle and Lord Harrington], and Sir Robert Walpole, in order to ask and learn from these great men what the Presbyterians, in case they brought their petition now into Parliament, had to hope from the Court, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons.

Sir Robert Walpole at this meeting began with a dissertation on the subject on which they were convened, and repeated most of the things he had before said to the Bishop of Salisbury. The Speaker avoided giving his opinion on the thing itself, but was very strong and explicit on the inexpediency of bringing it now before the Parliament, and the little probability, if it was brought there, of its success. My Lord President looked wise, was dull, took snuff, and said nothing. Lord Harrington took the same silent passive part. The Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Newcastle had done better had they followed that example too ; but both spoke plentifully, and were both equally unintelligible—the one from having lost his understanding, and the other from never having had any.

The result of this conference was reported by the committee to a general assembly of all the Dissenters in London, convened for that purpose ; and upon that report this assembly came to the following resolutions.

First, that if a petition was to be now preferred to Parliament in their favour, that there was no prospect of success.

Secondly, that the present was consequently an improper time for any application to Parliament of that kind.

And, thirdly, it was resolved to communicate the negotiations of the committee, and the resolutions of this assembly thereupon, to all the Dissenters in England.

In this manner, this storm that threatened the Administration from the Presbyterian party blew over.

7. SIR ROBERT WALPOLE'S METHODS

[LORD HERVEY'S *Memoirs*]

See heading of Section 6.

If I was much concerned for the pleasure people will take in reading these papers when pleasure and pain will be sensations no longer known to me, I should lament, too, the little importance of the occurrences and incidents belonging to the times in which I write and of which I treat.

Few readers give great attention but to great events, and such were not the growth of this country in the age I am describing. A minister ruled it who was more anxious to keep his power than to raise his fame, and wisely lived to his present interest, and not to the embellishment of a page in future story ; he knew that palliatives, delays, and gentle methods were the ways to keep power, though active enterprising steps may sometimes be the means to gain it, and, in imminent dangers, violent remedies necessary to restore it. But this was not his ease—“*Callistus prioris quoque regiae peritus, et potentiam cautis quam acrioribus consiliis tutius haberi*”—“Callistus, with the experience of the former Court, thought that power was more safely maintained by cautious than by more violent counsels” (*Tacitus*). He knew, whatever happened, he could be nothing greater than what he was ; and, in order to remain in that situation, his great maxim in policy was to keep everything else as undisturbed as he could, to

bear with some abuses rather than risk reformatations, and submit to old inconveniences rather than encourage innovations. From these maxims, which in my opinion he sometimes carried too far, he would never lend his assistance nor give the least encouragement to any emendation either of the law or the church, though the expenses and the hardships of the first, and the tyranny and injustice of the last in the ecclesiastical courts were got to an excess wholly unjustifiable and almost insupportable. From this way of reasoning he opposed the inquiry into the South Sea affair, the bill to vacate the infamous sale of Lord Derwentwater's estate, the examination of the House of Commons into the affairs of the charitable corporations, and the abuses in the gaols, besides many other crying instances of flagrant injustice and oppression, which he could not defend, and yet declined to correct by an extraordinary method, though, in the ordinary course of justice, he and all the world knew it was impossible to come at the offenders, put any stop to the offences, or give any redress to the injured.

One might with great truth say of Sir Robert Walpole what Tacitus does of Tiberius—“*Nihil aeque Tiberium anxium habebat quam ne composita turbarentur*”—“Tiberius's greatest anxiety was, that what was settled should not be disturbed.” This apprehension, long experience and thorough knowledge of this country and this Government had taught him; and in this way of thinking, the unsuccessful deviation he had made from it in the Excise scheme had now more than ever confirmed him. But, how right soever this policy might be in general, it exposed him to very severe censures in particular cases; his enemies often asserting,

too plausibly, that there was not a knave in the kingdom who might not reckon upon his protection, and be sure of escaping if parliamentary inquiry was necessary to convict him.

8. GREAT RIOTS IN 1736

[LORD HERVEY'S *Memoirs*]

The Porteous Riots in Edinburgh are familiar to all readers of Sir Walter Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*.

During the summer a licentious, riotous, seditious, and almost ungovernable spirit in the people showed itself in many tumults and disorders in different shapes and in several parts of the kingdom. In the West the people of the country rose in great numbers to oppose the exportation of corn, knowing that practice raised the price of corn in the home markets, and made it dearer to these mutineers; but as this commerce was a great national advantage (and experienced so particularly in the last war), so the farmers were not only permitted by the Legislature to exercise it, but had by Act of Parliament a bounty of five shillings per quarter allowed upon it.

The interruptions the people of the country gave to this trade this summer were so great, that the civil power alone was not sufficient to protect the farmers in carrying it on, but was forced to call the military force in aid, which quelled for a time the open opposition made by these rioters, but rather irritated than allayed the spirit from which that opposition sprung.

In the last week of July a riot of another kind happened in Spitalfields. Several Irishmen being

employed there by weavers, and working at a lower rate than the English journeymen, the English fearing this might in time come to reduce their price, all rose in combination to oblige the Irish to quit this trade, killed some, wounded many, defaced and threatened to pull down the houses of those who hired them, and swore they would never be quiet whilst one single Irishman was employed. On the unreasonableness of this proceeding in the English I need not descant, since it is obvious that their demands were as unjust as the manner of making them was illegal. This riot lasted three or four days ; and though it began on a point in which the Government seemed to be little concerned, yet mobs and multitudes, by what accident soever they are first assembled, are always objects worthy the care of a Government, as those who wish ill to a Government may turn a flame they had no hand in kindling to annoy such persons as at first it was not intended to touch or thought likely to reach.

This was the case of the Spitalfields weavers, who began with railing against the Irishmen, but came in twenty-four hours to cursing of Germans, reviling the King and Queen, and huzzaing for James III. The troops were sent to assist the civil magistrates in quelling this tumult also ; but the magistrate who read the proclamation to disperse the rioters made a great blunder by seizing some persons after he had read the proclamation, before the hour was expired which the Act allows to the rioters to disperse before it is construed felony to remain there.

However, these seizures, though they were not made in such a manner as to make those who were seized incur a capital punishment, yet had their effect so far



Edinburgh City Guards
(From an etching by John Kay)

as to intimidate and disperse the rest. But the rioters carried their point in banishing the Irish, none of the great dealers daring to employ them.....

But the riot which made the most noise of any that happened this year, and one of the most extraordinary nature that ever happened in any country, was an insurrection in Edinburgh, in Scotland.

One Andrew Wilson, a notorious smuggler, having been condemned for not contenting himself with defrauding the King of his duties, but for robbing some of the officers of the revenue of money they had collected, it was apprehended that the mob of Edinburgh, who always favoured these sort of offenders, would make an attempt to rescue him as he was leading to execution. The magistrates of Edinburgh therefore ordered the Town Guard to be drawn out to defend the officers of justice and secure the prisoner at the place of execution, and likewise sent to the commanding officer of the King's troops to be ready to assist in case his aid should be wanting.

Just after the execution a tumult arose, and the mob began to throw stones at the executioner and at the Town Guard ; whereupon Captain Porteous, commander of the Town Guard, ordered his men to fire among the multitude, which was assembled there to the number of many thousands. Several people were killed, to the number of eight, and many more wounded by this discharge of the firearms of the guard ; and the mob were so enraged against Captain Porteous for what he had done, that when he was leading to prison in order to be put upon his trial and afterwards from prison to his trial, it was with great difficulty that they were prevented from tearing him to pieces. The jury

brought in a verdict on which the judges condemned him, which appeased the rage of the mob by promising his life to satisfy it. But as Captain Porteous's case, by the cooler and better sort of people in Scotland, was thought a hard one, a petition, signed by vast numbers of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, was sent to the Queen (now Regent) to exercise the mercy of the Crown in his favour. Accordingly the Queen sent down a reprieve, at which the mob were so incensed, that the night preceeding that day fixed by the judges for the execution they assembled to the number of four or five thousand, seized and shut the city gates, possessed themselves of the arms of the City Guard, set fire to the prison gate, released every prisoner there confined but Captain Porteous, and dragged him from the prison to a place called the Grassmarket, the ordinary place for the execution of malefactors, and there, with all the solemnity of a legal execution, hanged him, some of them saying they would show the world that there was no authority should have the power to dispense with the laws of Scotland, and others talking in the coarsest and most opprobrious terms of the Queen and her reprieve. As soon as this cool, deliberate, and horrid murder was committed, the mob dispersed without further violence, or disturbance to any one.

That something of this nature would be attempted in case the Queen pardoned or reprieved Captain Porteous was commonly reported not only in Edinburgh, but over almost all Scotland long before the thing happened, from whence it was concluded, by the negligence and remissness of the magistrates in taking measures to prevent it, that the magistrates either wished this murder as much as those by whom it was

perpetrated, or were afraid to oppose what seemed to be the universal bent of the lower sort of people (at least) of the whole country.

9. GEORGE II ON HIS QUEEN

[LORD HERVEY'S *Memoirs*]

The power of Sir Robert Walpole was largely due to the confidence placed in him by Caroline, Queen of George II, who exercised a very strong influence over her husband. She died in 1737.

During this time the king talked perpetually to Lord Hervey, the physicians and surgeons, and his children, who were the only people he ever saw out of the Queen's room, of the Queen's good qualities, his fondness for her, his anxiety for her welfare, and the irreparable loss her death would be to him; and repeated every day, and many times in the day, all her merits in every capacity with regard to him and every other body she had to do with. He said she was the best wife, the best mother, the best companion, the best friend, and the best woman, that he had ever been acquainted with; that he firmly believed she never, since he first knew her, ever thought of anything she was to do or to say, but with the view of doing or saying it in what manner it would be most agreeable to his pleasure, or most serviceable for his interest; that he had never seen her out of humour in his life; that he had passed more hours with her than he believed any other two people in the world had ever passed together, and that he never had been tired in her company one minute; and that he was sure he could have been happy with no other woman upon earth for a wife, and that if she had

not been his wife, he had rather have had her for his mistress than any woman he had ever been acquainted with; that he believed she never had had a thought of people or things which she had not communicated to him; that she had the best head, the best heart and the best temper that God Almighty had ever given to any human creature, man or woman; and that she had not only softened all his leisure hours, but been of more use to him as a minister than any other body had ever been to him or to any other prince; that with a patience which he knew *he* was not master of, she had listened to the nonsense of all the impertinent fools that wanted to talk to him, and had taken all that trouble off his hands, reporting nothing to him that was unnecessary or would have been tedious for him to hear, and never forgetting anything that was material, useful or entertaining to him to know. He said that, joined to all the softness and delicacy of her own sex, she had all the personal as well as political courage of the firmest and bravest man; that not only he and her family, but the whole nation, would feel the loss of her if she died; and that as to all the *brillant* and *enjouement* of the Court, there would be an end of it when she was gone; and that there would be no bearing a drawing-room when the only body that ever enlivened it, and one that always enlivened it, was no longer there. “Poor woman! how she always found something obliging, agreeable and pleasing to say to everybody, and always sent people away from her better satisfied than they came! *Comme elle soutenoit sa dignité avec grâce, avec politesse, avec douceur!*”

10. CHARLES EDWARD STUART AND LOCHIEL

[*History of the Rebellion of 1745*, by JOHN HOME]

In 1745 Charles Edward Stuart landed in Scotland to claim the crown of Great Britain and Ireland for his father.

It is impossible to imagine an abode more suitable to the circumstances and designs of Charles than Boradale, which is one of the most remote and inaccessible places in the Highlands of Scotland, surrounded on every side by the territories of those chiefs, who, in former times, had fought the battles of the family of Stuart. From this retreat, Charles dispatched messengers to the chiefs from whom he expected assistance. The first chief that came to Charles at Boradale, was Cameron of Lochiel. Donald Cameron, called by the Highlanders young Lochiel, (for his father was still alive, but attainted in exile,) had succeeded, in the year 1719, to his grandfather Sir Ewen Cameron (of whom so many marvellous stories are told by his countrymen at this day). Educated in the principles of his ancestors, Lochiel was devoted, like them, to the family of Stuart; and the old Pretender had conceived so great an opinion of the character and influence of this chief, that, in the year 1729, he wrote a letter with his own hand, in which he gave him full and ample powers to treat with such of his friends in Scotland as he thought might be trusted, and settle every thing that concerned his affairs. The Jacobites in the Highlands and in the Lowlands of Scotland were acquainted with the contents of this letter, and had recourse upon every occasion to Cameron of Lochiel. He was one of the seven, who, in the year

1740, signed the association which Drummond of Rohaldy carried to the old Pretender at Rome; and when the Court of France, after the disaster at Dunkirk, withheld their aid, he was one of those who sent over Murray to dissuade Charles from coming to Scotland without a body of foreign troops; and he was not a little troubled when he received a letter from Charles, acquainting him that he was come to the Highlands and desired to see him immediately. Lochiel complied with the request of the letter. He was no sooner arrived at Boradale, than Charles and he retired by themselves.

The conversation began on the part of Charles, with bitter complaints of the treatment he had received from the ministers of France, who had so long amused him with vain hopes, and deceived him with false promises; their coldness in his cause, he said, but ill agreed with the opinion he had of his own pretensions, and with that impatience to assert them, with which the promises of his father's brave and faithful subjects had inflamed his mind. Lochiel acknowledged the engagements of the chiefs, but observed that they were no way binding, as he had come over without the stipulated aid; and therefore, as there was not the least prospect of success, he advised his Royal Highness to return to France, and to reserve himself and his faithful friends for a more favourable opportunity. Charles refused to follow Lochiel's advice, affirming that a more favourable opportunity than the present would never come: that almost all the British troops were abroad, and kept at bay by Marshal Saxe, with a superior army: that in Scotland there were only a few new raised regiments,[†] that had never seen service, and could not stand before the Highlanders: that the very first advantage gained over the

troops would encourage his father's friends at home to declare themselves: that his friends abroad would not fail to give their assistance: that he only wanted the Highlanders to begin the war.

Lochiel still resisted, entreating Charles to be more temperate, and consent to remain concealed where he was, till he (Lochiel) and his other friends should meet together, and concert what was best to be done. Charles, whose mind was wound up to the utmost pitch of impatience, paid no regard to this proposal, but answered, that he was determined to put all to the hazard. "In a few days," said he, "with the few friends that I have, I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain, that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors; to win it, or to perish in the attempt; Lochiel, who, my father has often told me, was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince." "No," said Lochiel, "I'll share the fate of my prince; and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune hath given me any power." Such was the singular conversation, on the result of which depended peace or war. For it is a point agreed among the Highlanders, that if Lochiel had persisted in his refusal to take arms, the other chiefs would not have joined the standard without him, and the spark of rebellion must have instantly expired.

11. THE BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS

[*History of the Rebellion of 1745*, by JOHN HOME]

Charles Stuart established himself in Edinburgh, and the Highlanders routed the government troops at the battle of Prestonpans.

About three o'clock in the morning orders were sent to Lord Nairn, who had been detached with 500 men toward Preston (to prevent Sir John Cope from marching that way to Edinburgh,) to draw off his men, and join the army, which he immediately did. Before break of day the Highlanders began to move. Anderson led the way; next him was the Major of the regiment of Clanronald with 40 men: close behind them was the army marching in column as before; three men in a rank. They came down by a sort of valley or hollow, that winds through the farm of Ringan Head. Not a whisper was heard amongst them. At first their march was concealed by the darkness, and when day began to break, by a frosty mist. They were near the place where Anderson intended to lead them through the morass, when some dragoons called, Who's there? The Highlanders made no answer, but marched on. The dragoons perceived what they were, and rode off to give the alarm. The Highlanders immediately entered the morass, and passed through without much difficulty. The column marched directly north towards the sea, till it was thought that the men who were behind them might have reached their ground; then the Duke of Perth, who led the column, ordered the men to halt, face to the left, and form a line as usual. Sir John Cope, informed by the dragoons who had seen the Highlanders that they were coming from the east,

immediately put his troops in motion, and changed the front of his army from south to east. The disposition was the same, and each regiment in its former place in the line ; but the out-guards of the foot not having time to find out the regiments to which they belonged, placed themselves on the right of Lee's five companies, and did not leave sufficient room for the two squadrons of dragoons to form ; so that the squadron which Colonel Gardner commanded was drawn up behind the other squadron commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney. The artillery with its guard which had been on the left, and very near the line, was now on the right, a little farther from the line, and in front of Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney's squadron. The ground between the two armies was an extensive corn field, plain and level, without a bush or tree. Harvest was just got in, and the ground was covered with a thick stubble, which rustled under the feet of the Highlanders as they ran on, speaking and muttering in a manner that expressed and heightened their fierceness and rage. When they set out, the mist was very thick, but before they had got half way the sun rose, dispelled the mist, and shewed the armies to each other. As the left wing of the rebel army had moved before the right, their line was somewhat oblique, and the Camerons, who were nearest the King's army, came up directly opposite to the cannon, firing at the guard as they advanced. The people employed to work the cannon, who were not gunners or artillery men, fled instantly. Colonel Whiteford fired five of the six field-pieces with his own hand, which killed one private man, and wounded an officer in Lochiel's regiment. The line seemed to shake, but the men kept going on at a great pace. Colonel Whitney was ordered to advance with

his squadron, and attack the rebels before they came up to the cannon. The dragoons moved on, and were very near the cannon, when they received some fire which killed several men, and wounded Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney. The squadron immediately wheeled about, rode over the artillery guard, and fled. The men of the artillery guard, who had given one fire, and that a very indifferent one, dispersed. The Highlanders going on without stopping to make prisoners, Colonel Gardner was ordered to advance with his squadron, and attack them, disordered as they seemed to be with running over the cannon and the artillery guard. The Colonel advanced at the head of his men, encouraging them to charge ; the dragoons followed him a little way, but as soon as the fire of the Highlanders reached them, they reeled, fell into confusion, and went off as the other squadron had done. When the dragoons on the right of the King's army gave way, the Highlanders, most of whom had their pieces still loaded, advanced against the foot, firing as they went on. The soldiers, confounded and terrified to see the cannon taken, and the dragoons put to flight, gave their fire, it is said, without orders : the companies of the out-guard being nearest the enemy, were the first that fired, and the fire went down the line as far as Murray's regiment. The Highlanders threw down their muskets, drew their swords, and ran on. The line of foot broke as the fire had been given from right to left. Hamilton's dragoons seeing what had happened on the right, and receiving some fire at a good distance from the Highlanders advancing to attack them, they immediately wheeled about and fled, leaving the flank of the foot unguarded. The regiment which was next them (Murray's) gave their

fire and followed the dragoons. In a very few minutes after the first cannon was fired, the whole army both horse and foot, were put to flight. None of the soldiers attempted to load their pieces again, and not one bayonet was stained with blood. In this manner the battle of Preston was fought and won by the rebels : the victory was complete, for all the infantry of the King's army were either killed or taken prisoners, except about 170, who escaped by extraordinary swiftness, or early flight.

The number of private men in the King's army who were killed in the battle did not exceed 200 ; but five officers were killed, and 80 officers of the rebel army, and 30 private men were killed ; six officers and 70 private men were wounded. The cannon, the tents, the baggage, and the military chest of the king's army, with the men that guarded it, fell into the hands of the enemy. The dragoons, after their first flight, halted once or twice, but fled again, whenever any party of the rebels came up and fired at them. General Cope, with the assistance of the Earls of Home and Loudon, gathered together 450 dragoons at the west end of the village of Preston, and, marching them by Soultra Hill and Lauder, reached Coldstream that night.

In this battle there were not wanting instances of generous valour on the side of the vanquished. Colonel Gardner, a veteran officer, who had served the armies of the Duke of Marlborough, encouraging his men by his voice and example to charge the rebels, when he found himself abandoned by the dragoons, did not follow them, but endeavouring, wounded as he was, to join the foot, met a glorious death, which he preferred to flight. Captain Brymer of Lee's regiment, the only officer in

the King's army who had seen Highlanders attack regular troops, (at the battle of Sheriffmuir,) and the only person who seemed to think that there was anything formidable in their attack, when the rebels broke in upon that part of the line where he stood, disdained to turn his back, and was killed with his face to the enemy.

Charles remained on the field of battle till midday, giving orders for the relief of the wounded of both armies, for the disposal of his prisoners, and preserving, from temper and judgement, every appearance of moderation and humanity. That night he lay at Pinkie, and next morning returned to Edinburgh.

12. SIR ROBERT WALPOLE AND HENRY PELHAM

[HORACE WALPOLE, *Memoirs of the Reign of George II*]

After the fall of Walpole in 1742 the management of the Government, after a brief interval, fell into the hands of Henry Pelham. Sir Robert's son, Horace, draws a comparison between the two ministers.

When Elijah was hurried to heaven, he left his cloak to Elisha with a double portion of his spirit ; but that legacy in no sense happened to Mr Pelham who was as much inferior to Sir Robert Walpole in political courage as in abilities. Sir Robert Walpole was bold, open, steady, never dejected ; he would attempt for honest ends where strict morality did not countenance his opinion ; he always disclosed his arts after they had effected his purpose ; and sometimes defeated them by too early discovery. He never gave up his party to serve himself, though he has departed from his own

opinion to please his friends, who were serving themselves ; nor did he ever lose his cheerfulness, though he had hurt himself against his opinion.

Mr Pelham was timorous, reserved, fickle, apt to despair. He would often not attempt when he was convinced it would be right ; would sooner hurt himself by not telling his mind, than attain his aim by being communicative ; and often gave up his party, indeed not to serve himself, but his enemies, and frequently disappointed himself of success, by never expecting to succeed. Presumption made Sir Robert Walpole many enemies ; want of confidence in himself kept from Mr Pelham many friends. Sir Robert Walpole was content to have one great honest view, and would overlook or trample upon the intermediate degrees. Mr Pelham could never reach a great view, by stumbling at little ones ; he would scruple to give an hundred pounds to one opponent, and to buy off another would give up a question that might endanger the nation. Sir Robert Walpole loved power so much that he would not endure a rival ; Mr Pelham loved it so well, that he would endure anything. The one would risk his administration, by driving every considerable man from Court, rather than venture their being well there ; the other would employ any means to take able men out of the Opposition, though he ventured their engrossing his authority and outshining his capacity ; but he dreaded abuse more than competition, and always bought off his enemies to avoid their satire, rather than to acquire their support ; whereas, Sir Robert Walpole never trading but for members, and despising invectives, and dreading rivals, gained but weak, uncertain assistance, and always kept up a formidable Opposition.

His apprehension of competitors was founded on prudence, because great part of his authority depended upon the King's favour ; Mr Pelham owing nothing to that had the less reason to fear losing it ; as he maintained himself in the Ministry in spite of the King's partiality to abler men, he had no reason to be jealous of getting interest at Court.

Sir Robert Walpole raised himself to the head of the Administration, without interest, without fortune, without alliances, and in defiance of the chiefs of his own party : he rose by the House of Commons—he fell by it. Mr Pelham found himself next upon the list, and was recommended to a strong party by their leader. He would never have risen, had he had no other foundations than the House of Commons, and would fall to-morrow if he had no other support ; for he must be undone whenever his safety depends upon himself. Sir Robert Walpole's eloquence was made for use, and he never could shine but when it was necessary he should. He wanted art when he had no occasion for it ; and never pleased, but when he did more than please. I am not going to contrast this part of their characters, nor to say that Mr Pelham shone upon trifling and unnecessary occasions, for he did not do even that ; he was obscure upon the most trivial occurrences, perplexed even when he had but one idea, and whenever he spoke well, it was owing to his being heated ; he must lose his temper before he could exert his reason. Sir Robert Walpole palliated too little, Mr Pelham too much. The one would defend his errors by a majority, the other with a greater majority would excuse his merit, and would sooner obscure and depreciate his meaning when right and clear of itself, than not apologise for it.

Sir Robert Walpole could not deviate but with openness and sincerity ; the other degraded truth by timidity, sense by mystery, and right by asking pardon for it.

The one was honoured by his enemies, the other at best pitied by his friends. His most prejudiced opponents often grew convinced that the former was in the right : the heartiest friends of the latter knew he meant to be so, but never found stronger reasons to confirm them in their opinion. The one durst do right and durst do wrong too ; the other dared either so little, that it generally ended in his doing the latter. Sir Robert Walpole never professed honesty but followed it ; Mr Pelham always professed it, and kept his word, when nothing happened to make him break it ; and then he broke it for some other honest end, though perhaps far from being equally cogent.

Sir Robert Walpole's mastery was understanding his own country, and his foible, inattention to every other country, by which it was impossible he could thoroughly understand his own. Mr Pelham understood more of his own country than of others, though he would have made a better Minister for any other nation ; for, as he would not have met with opposition or contradiction, two things his nature could not bear, and as he meant exceedingly well, he would have served the country that employed him to the best of his understanding, and that might have cleared up as well as his temper, when he had nothing to perplex it. In the knowledge of the Revenue, he and all other men must yield to Sir R. Walpole, though he and all other men must make the same use of that knowledge, which is to find new funds for the necessities of the Government, and for the occasions of the Administration : by those

occasions, I mean corruption, in which I believe Mr Pelham would never have wet his finger, if Sir Robert Walpole had not dipped up to the elbow ; but as he did dip, and as Mr Pelham was persuaded that it was as necessary for him to be Minister as it was for Sir Robert Walpole, he plunged as deep. The difference was, that Mr Pelham always bribed more largely as he had more power ; for whenever it tottered, he had less ventured to prop it by those means, as he was the more afraid of being called to account for putting them in practice.

13. EPITAPH ON FREDERICK, PRINCE OF WALES

[HORACE WALPOLE, *Memoirs of the Reign of George II*]

Frederick, Prince of Wales, was the eldest son of George II and father of George III. He was in constant antagonism to his father, and in alliance with the Opposition. Unlike his brother, the able but unpopular Duke of Cumberland, he was a man of no ability. He died in 1751.

Here lies Fred,
Who was alive, and is dead ;
Had it been his father,
I had much rather :
Had it been his brother,
Still better than another :
Had it been his sister,
No one would have missed her ;
Had it been the whole generation,
Still better for the nation ;
But since 'tis only Fred,
Who was alive, and is dead,—
There's no more to be said.

14. THE TRIAL OF ADMIRAL BYNG

[HORACE WALPOLE, *Memoirs of the Reign of George II*]

In 1756, the Seven Years' War was begun by the French capture from the British of the island of Minorca. There was a storm of indignation against the government, which made a scapegoat of Admiral Byng who had failed to save the island.

Before the sentence was pronounced, an express was despatched to the Admiralty at London, to demand, whether the Court-Martial were at Liberty to mitigate an Article of War on which they had doubts. They were answered in the negative. It was the twelfth of the Articles of War on which they had scruples. It was formerly left to the discretion of the Court to inflict death or whatever punishment they thought proper, on neglect of duty; but about three years before this period the Articles had been new modelled; and to strike the greater terror into the officers of the Fleet, who had been thought too remiss, the softer alternative had been omitted. From the most favourable construction (for the members of the Court) of the present case, it was plain that the Court-Martial, who had demanded whether the law would not authorise them to mitigate the rigour of the article, thought the Admiral by no means deserved to be included in its utmost severity. This they must have thought—they could not mean to inquire whether they might mitigate what they did not desire to mitigate.

How the more moderate members of the Court obtained the acquiescence of their brethren to this

demand is surprising, for Admiral Boseawen, who had the guard of the prisoner at Portsmouth, and who was not one of the Judges, but a Lord of the Admiralty, seems by the event to have understood to a prophetic certainty the constitution of the Court. Dining at Sir Edward Montagu's before the trial, and it being disputed what the issue of it would be, Boseawen said bluntly, "Well, say what you will, *we* shall have a majority, and he will be condemned." This the Duchess of Manchester repeated to Mrs Osborn, and offered to depose in the most solemn manner.

I have spoken of the Admiral Byng, not only as of a man who thought himself innocent, but as of one marked for sacrifice by a set of Ministers, who meant to divert on him the vengeance of a betrayed and enraged nation. I have spoken, and shall speak of him as of a man most unjustly and wickedly put to death; and as this was the moment from which my opinion sprung, however lamentably confirmed by the event, it is necessary in my own vindication to say a few words, lest prejudice against the persecutors, or for the persecuted, should be suspected of having influenced my narrative. I will insert both the sentence and the letter of the Court-Martial; and will appeal to impartial posterity, whether I have exaggerated, whether it was necessary for me, or whether it was possible for me to exaggerate, the horrid absurdity of this proceeding. Supplements indeed there were made to it!

"At a Court-Martial, assembled on board his Majesty's ship *St George*, in Portsmouth harbour, upon the 28th of December, 1756, and held every day afterwards (Sundays excepted), till the 27th of January (inclusive).

“ Present,

Thomas Smith, Esq., Vice-Admiral of the Red,
President;

Francis Holburne, Esq., Rear-Admiral of the Red;

Harry Norris, Esq., Rear-Admiral of the White;

Thomas Brodrick, Esq., Rear-Admiral of the Blue;

Captains, Charles Holmes,	Francis Geary,
William Boys,	John Moore,
John Simcoe,	James Douglas,
John Bentley,	Hon. Augustus Keppel,
Peter Denis.	

“The Court, pursuant to an order from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Smith, dated December 14, 1756, proceeded to inquire into the conduct of the Hon. John Byng, Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet, and to try him upon a charge, that during the engagement between his Majesty's Fleet, under his command, and the Fleet of the French King, on the 20th of May last, he did withdraw or keep back, and did not do his utmost to take, seize, and destroy, the ships of the French King, which it was his duty to have engaged, and to assist such of his Majesty's ships as were engaged in fight with the French ships, which it was his duty to have assisted; and for that he did not do his utmost to relieve St Philip's Castle, in his Majesty's island of Minorca, then besieged by the forces of the French King, but acted contrary to, and in breach of, his Majesty's command; and having heard the evidence and the prisoner's defence, and very maturely and thoroughly considered the same, they are unanimously of opinion, that he did not do his utmost to relieve St Philip's Castle, and also that during the

engagement between his Majesty's Fleet under his command and the Fleet of the French King on the 20th May last, he did not do his utmost to take, seize and destroy, the ships of the French King, which it was his duty to have engaged, and to assist such of his Majesty's ships as were engaged in fight with the French ships, which it was his duty to have assisted; and do therefore unanimously agree that he falls under part of the twelfth article of an Act of Parliament of the twenty-second year of his present Majesty, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one Act of Parliament the laws relating to the government of his Majesty's ships, vessels, and forces by sea; and as that article positively prescribes death, without any alternative left to the discretion of the Court, under any variation of circumstances, the Court do therefore hereby unanimously adjudge the said Admiral Byng to be shot to death, at such time, and on board such ship, as the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty shall direct.

“But as it appears by the evidence of Lord Robert Bertie, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, Captain Gardiner, and other officers of the ship, who were near the person of the Admiral, that they did not perceive any backwardness in him during the action, or any marks of fear or confusion, either from his countenance or behaviour, but that he seemed to give his orders coolly and distinctly, and did not seem wanting in personal courage, and from other circumstances, the Court do not believe that his misconduct arose either from cowardice or disaffection, and do therefore unanimously think it their duty, most earnestly to recommend him as a proper object of mercy.”

The sentence was accompanied by the following earnest representation:

“To the right honourable the Lords Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, &c.

“We, the underwritten, the President and Members of the Court-Martial assembled for the trial of Admiral Byng, believe it unnecessary to inform your Lordships, that in the whole course of this long trial, we have done our utmost endeavour to come at truth, and to do the strictest justice to our country, and the prisoner; but we cannot help laying the distresses of our minds before your Lordships on this occasion, in finding ourselves under a necessity of condemning a man to death, from the great severity of the twelfth Article of War, part of which he falls under, and which admits of no mitigation, even if the crime should be committed by an error in judgment only; and therefore, for our own consciences’ sakes, as well as in justice to the prisoner, we pray your Lordships, in the most earnest manner, to recommend him to his Majesty’s clemency.

“We are, my Lords, &c. &c.”

Signed by the whole Court.

15. THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC

[HORACE WALPOLE, *Memoirs of the Reign of George II*]

In 1759 the French fleet was shattered by Admiral Hawke at the battle of Quiberon. In Canada, however, matters were looking very black since every attempt to capture Quebec had failed.

The joy on those successes, however, was damped by a desponding letter received from General Wolfe before Quebec, on the 14th of October. He had found the enterprise infinitely more difficult than he had conceived,

the country strong from every circumstance of situation: the French had a superior Army, had called in every Canadian capable of bearing arms: twenty-two ship-loads of provisions had escaped Admiral Durell and got into the town; Amherst was not come up: and, above all, Montcalm the French General, had shown that he understood the natural strength of the country, had posted himself in the most advantageous situation, and was not to be drawn from it by any stratagem which Wolfe, assisted by the steady co-operation of our Fleet, could put in practice. Wolfe himself was languishing with the stone, and a complication of disorders which fatigue and disappointment had brought upon him. Townshend and other officers had crossed him in his plans but he had not yielded. Himself had been one of the warmest censurers of the miscarried expedition to Rochfort, and he had received this high command upon the assurance that no dangers or difficulties should discourage him. His Army wasted before his eyes by sickness; the season advanced fast which must put an end to his attempts: he had no choice remaining but in variety of difficulties. In the most artful terms that could be framed he left the nation uncertain whether he meant to prepare an excuse for desisting or to claim the melancholy merit of being sacrificed himself without a prospect of success.

Three days after, an express arrived that Quebec was taken—a conquest heightened by the preceding gloom and despair. The rapidity with which our arms had prevailed in every quarter of the globe made us presume that Canada could not fail of being added to our acquisitions; and however arduously won, it would have sunk in value, if the transient cloud that overcast the

dawn of this glory had not made it burst forth with redoubled lustre. The incidents of dramatic fiction could not be conducted with more address to lead an audience from despondency to sudden exultation, than accident prepared to excite the passions of a whole people. They despaired—they triumphed—and they wept—for Wolfe had fallen in the hour of victory! Joy, grief, curiosity, astonishment, were painted in every countenance: the more they inquired, the higher their admiration rose. Not an incident but was heroic and affecting!

Wolfe, between persuasion of the impracticability, unwillingness to leave any attempt untried that could be proposed, and worn out with the anxiety of mind and body, had determined to make one last effort above the town. He embarked his forces at one in the morning, and passed the French sentinels in silence, that were posted along the shore. The current carried them beyond the destined spot. They found themselves at the foot of a precipice, esteemed so impracticable, that only a slight guard of one hundred and fifty men defended it. Had there been a path, the night was too dark to discover it. The troops, whom nothing could discourage, for these difficulties could not, pulled themselves and one another up by stumps and boughs of trees. The guard, hearing a rustling, fired down the precipice at random, as our men did up into the air: but, terrified by the strangeness of the attempt, the French picquet fled—all but the Captain, who though wounded, would not accept quarter, but fired at one of our officers at the head of five hundred men. This, as he staked but a single life, was thought such an unfair war, that instead of honouring his desperate valour, our men, to punish him, cut off his



Quebec

eroix de St Louis before they sent him to the hospital. Two of our officers, however, signed a certificate of his courage, lest the French should punish him as corrupted; our enterprise, unless facilitated by corruption, being deemed impossible to have taken place.

Day-break discovered our forces in possession of the eminence. Montcalm could not credit it when reported to him; but it was too late to doubt it when nothing but a battle could save the town. Even then he held our attempt so desperate, that, being shown the position of the English, he said, "*Oui, je les vois où ils ne doivent pas être.*" Forced to quit his entrenchments, he said, "*S'il faut donc combattre, je vais les écraser.*" He prepared for engagement, after lining the bushes with detachments of Indians. Our men, according to orders, reserved their fire with a patience and tranquillity equal to the resolution they had exerted in clambering the precipice—but when they gave it, it took place with such terrible slaughter of the enemy, that half an hour decided the day. The French fled precipitately; and Montcalm, endeavouring to rally them, was killed on the spot. General Monekton was wounded early, and obliged to retire.

The fall of Wolfe was noble indeed. He received a wound in the head, but covered it from his soldiers with his handkerchief. A second ball struck him in the belly: that too he dissembled. A third hitting him in the breast, he sunk under the anguish and was carried behind the ranks. Yet, as fast as life ebbed out, his whole anxiety centred on the fortune of the day. He begged to be borne nearer to the action; but his sight being dimmed by the approach of death, he entreated to be told what they who supported him

saw: he was answered that the enemy gave ground. He eagerly repeated the question, heard the enemy was totally routed, cried "I am satisfied"—and expired.

In five days the town capitulated.

CHAPTER V

1760—1815

GEORGE III

AUTHORITIES CITED.

- (1) HORACE WALPOLE : see authorities cited in Chapter IV.
- (2) EDMUND BURKE, orator, and prominent Whig till his rupture with C. J. Fox in connection with the French Revolution. A political thinker of very high rank, and actively engaged in the party politics of the time, he made speeches and wrote pamphlets on American, Indian, and domestic questions which form a first-rate historical authority : although with regard to Warren Hastings he was to a great extent misled by false information.
- (3) THEOBALD WOLFE TONE, an Irish Protestant, who, more than any other single person, was responsible for combining Irish Catholics and Protestants in the rebellion of 1798. He left an *Autobiography*.
- (4) HENRY GRATTAN, the greatest of the Irish Parliamentary leaders from 1780 to 1800. The independent Parliament which Ireland enjoyed during most of that period is commonly called "Grattan's Parliament."
- (5) SIR WILLIAM NAPIER as a very young man took part personally in the Peninsular campaigns, and wrote the *History of the Peninsular War* from which his *Battles and Sieges in the Peninsula* was mainly extracted and condensed.

1. THE RESIGNATION OF PITT, 1761

[HORACE WALPOLE, *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*]

George III on his accession reposed his confidence in Lord Bute, who had hitherto taken no active part in politics. Now, however, the king was determined to expel from power William Pitt and the dominant Whig families. The British arms were everywhere triumphant ; but Pitt, realising that Spain was preparing to take part with France, urged an immediate attack upon that power. He failed to carry the ministry with him, owing to the influence of the king and Bute ; and thereupon resigned.

It was not without reason that the nation took an alarm, when almost all who conducted our affairs were determined to take none. Spain for some time had interposed officiously in behalf of France, which, said the Spaniards, was sufficiently humbled and must not be ruined. It was known that they had furnished her with money : and, as if they sought an open breach with us, they demanded for all Spain the same privilege as Biscay and two other provinces enjoyed, of fishing on the coasts of Newfoundland. This was peremptorily refused ; and had Mr Pitt's influence been equal to his spirit, Lord Bristol had been immediately recalled from Madrid. But the other ministers who desired nothing better than an excuse for their pusillanimity, begged to temporize. They pretended to dread being overpowered, but were more afraid of a new field being opened to success. The Spanish ministers of the French faction had blown up their opinionative and ignorant Prince with ideas of holding the balance between England and France : but the old Spaniards lamented a system so abhorrent from the true interest of their country. The King of Spain was possessed with a notion that his lights were equal to his grandeur. He listened, or

thought he listened, to no advice : but if anything is more fatal to a nation than a foolish indolent Prince, it is a foolish one that is active and obstinate. Our ministers cried out against a war with Spain as unnatural ; but when the interest of Spain did not direct Spain, were we to act as if it did ? The Duke of Bedford, who, like Don Carlos, could be made to take half of what he meant for the whole, was clamorous against a Spanish war ; and as he always compensated for the arguments he leaped over by excess on the other side, he told Bussy he was sorry for his departure, as we were no longer in a situation to make war.

Bussy however, still lingered, and invented frivolous excuses to palliate his delay. Lord Hardwicke, considering a treaty in the light of a bill in Chancery, begged some binding words might be inserted in the treaty. But Mr Pitt had fixed his resolution. It was by one bold stroke to assert the honour of his country, or to quit the rudder. He insisted that a fleet of twelve or fourteen men-of-war should be instantly sent to Cadiz ; and that Lord Bristol should be ordered to demand a sight of the treaty between Spain and France ; and if not accorded, to leave Madrid without delay. When Spain had given such indications of her partiality to France, nothing could be more justifiable than this measure. But Spain had not restrained herself within the bounds of favour. In the midst of the negotiation between us and France, to which Spain pretended to offer herself as guarantee, she had committed a most flagrant and unheard-of instance of taking part, nay, of adding herself as a party to the grievances complained of. Bussy, tolerated here as a negotiator, and without even a character from his own Court, presented to

Mr Pitt a cavalier note in the name of Spain, demanding restitution of some prizes we had made on Spain during the war, satisfaction for the violation of their territory by the navy of England, liberty of fishery on Newfoundland, and destruction of our settlements on the Spanish territory, in the bay of Honduras. A power in amity with us, and affecting to act as mediator, selects our enemy's agent to convey their complaints!—What could surpass this insult?—the patience of our ministers under such indignity—not of Mr Pitt. He replied with the Majesty of the crown he served,—the vengeance of that Crown slept in other hands.

His hands tied, the nation affronted, and duped by the partial breaking off of the treaty with France, no proper resentment permitted against Spain, Mr Pitt found he could do no farther good. His character had been lost by acquiescence and nothing could rouse the nation, but his quitting the sphere of business, where he was so treacherously controlled. He had desired to enter his protest in the council books against the temporizing advice of his colleagues. He and Lord Temple delivered to the King their reasons and advice for a war with Spain: on October 2nd Mr Pitt took leave of the Council, thanking the ministers of the late king for the support they had given to the war: and on the fifth he resigned the Seals. Lord Temple quitted on the ninth following.

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2. NUMBER FORTY-FIVE, 1763

[HORACE WALPOLE, *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*]

Peace was made in 1763. The British had in fact deserted their ally, Frederick the Great of Prussia; but the King's Speech claimed credit for having procured favourable terms for Frederick. The adventurer John Wilkes, an exceedingly scurrilous writer, very correctly described this as a lie, in the forty-fifth number of his paper, *The North Briton*.

The *North Briton* too, was soon resumed, and on the 23rd of April was published the memorable forty-fifth number, which occasioned so much trouble to the author, procured so essential a correction of loose and till then undefined power, and produced so many silly conundrums and wretched witticisms on the number itself. This famous paper gave a flat lie to the King himself for having, by the favourite's suggestion, assumed the honour of obtaining peace for the King of Prussia.

Nothing could be more just than the satire, nothing more bold than the unmeasured liberty with which it was uttered. The Prussian monarch must have read with scorn, and Europe with laughter, so absurd a boast as our vaunting to have saved an ally whom we had betrayed and abandoned. Ridicule might have handled this vain-glorious falsehood with full severity and full security, without passing the bounds which law allows. But when Parliament had connived at the treachery, could it be supposed that it would suffer a private hand to wield the bolt which had slept in the custody of so many corrupt representatives? The lie given in print to the Crown, by an obscure man, was an unparalleled licence. If the King had a particle of power left, or his servants, or his magistrates, of spirit, such an insult could not be passed over. The rashness of his servants contrived

to involve the Crown and themselves in inextricable difficulties, and to make the unwarrantable behaviour of Wilkes appear innocent, when compared with the excesses they committed themselves.

I do not mean to lead the reader through the maze of vague and barbarous law-proceedings which sprang out of this transaction. It did but lay open the undefined or unmeaning magazine of terms which the chicanery or contradictions of ages had heaped together, and it proved that the Crown and the subject might be justified in almost any excesses. The right-hand of Nonsense armed the King, and her left defended the subject. The lawyers on either side were employed in discovering springes or loopholes.

After a week's deliberation Wilkes was seized, April 30th, by three messengers, on a general warrant, signed by Lord Halifax. They had been ordered to apprehend him at midnight, but abstained till noon of the 30th. Churchill, his friend, then with him, slipped out of the house, either to secure himself or to give the alarm. Mr Wood the Under-Secretary, and Philip Carteret Webbe, a most villanous tool and agent in any iniquity, seized his papers, though he had received intimation time enough to convey away the most material. He was conducted to Lord Halifax's, where he behaved with much firmness and confidence, and grievously wounded the haughty dignity attempted to be assumed by Lord Egremont. They committed him close prisoner to the Tower; a severity rarely, and never fit to be practised but in cases of most dangerous treason. This treatment served but to increase Wilkes's spirit and wit. He desired to be confined in the same room where Sir William Windham, Lord Egremont's father, had

been kept on a charge of Jacobitism ; and said he hoped, if there could be found such a chamber in the Tower, that he might not be lodged where any Seoteman had been prisoner.

About the same time, being told of the reasons alleged by the King of Spain for setting aside his eldest son, two of which were, that the Princee squinted, and did not believe the mysteries of our holy religion, then said Wilkes, "I can never be king of Spain, for I squint, and believe none of those mysteries."

The rigour of the commitment gave serious alarm ; but, the very day on which it happened, Wilkes's friends applied to the Court of Common Pleas for his habeas-corpus, expecting it from Lord Chief Justice Pratt, and seorning or despairing of it from Lord Mansfield.

Lord Temple instantly resorted to the Tower, but was denied admittance to the prisoner ; a restraint the ministers found the very next day they must take off. Lord Temple then returned to visit Wilkes, as did the Duke of Grafton and some few others of rank ; but, in general, the prisoner's character was so bad, and his conduct so rash and unguarded, that few who were either decent or cautious cared to be concerned with him.

The habeas-corpus being granted, Wilkes was carried to the Court of Common Pleas, May 3rd. He spoke for an hour, said "attempts had been made to corrupt him, now to persecute him, he had been worse treated than any rebel Seot." The crowd in Westminster-hall gave a great shout ; the Chief Justice, with great dignity, reproved them. The judges took time to deliberate. The people were profuse of their acclamations to the sufferer.

On the 5th, he wrote a letter to his daughter (a child



John Wilkes

(From a drawing by William Hogarth)

whom he had placed in a convent in France for her education), and sent it open to Lord Halifax ; it congratulated her on living in a free country. He was the same day turned out of his commission in the militia.

On the 6th, being again conveyed from the Tower to Westminster-hall, Pratt and the other judges of the Common Pleas unanimously discharged him from his confinement ; the Chief Justice delivering their opinions, and dismissing him on his parliamentary privilege, "because, though privilege of Parliament does not hold against a breach of the peace, it does against what only tends to a breach of the peace. The case of the seven bishops was quoted ; the judges Wright, Holloway, and Allibone had been against them. Allibone, said Pratt, was a papist ; Wright and Holloway had been appointed for the occasion ; but Powel, an honest man, had declared for the bishops. On the other hand, he quoted a recent case of Lord Tankerville, who having been arrested on a prosecution for bribery in the election for Windsor, the Lords had declared it a breach of privilege"—we shall find how much less tender the Commons were of their privileges.

The Chief Justice had no sooner granted the enlargement of Wilkes, than two of the King's serjeants presented letters to the Court, from the Attorney and Solicitor Generals, demanding to be admitted into the Court, as the case concerned the King's interest. The Attorney, it is said, has a right of interfering in any Court where the king's interest is agitated ; it is doubted whether the Solicitor has the same prerogative. To both Pratt answered that they applied too late.

Now did the Court feel the consequence of having forced Pratt to be Chief Justice against his will.

3. THE NEW ROYALISM

[EDMUND BURKE, *Thoughts on the cause of Present Discontents*]

George III made it the great object of the early years of his reign to procure in parliament the supremacy of a party whose policy should be entirely directed by himself. Here Edmund Burke describes the original formation of this party of the "King's Friends," which gained complete ascendancy with the formation of Lord North's Ministry in 1770.

His Majesty came to the throne of these kingdoms with more advantages than any of his predecessors since the Revolution. Fourth in descent, and third in succession of the Royal family, even the zealots of hereditary right, in him, saw something to flatter their favourite prejudices, and to justify a transfer of their attachments, without a change in their principles. The person and cause of the Pretender were become contemptible ; his title disowned throughout Europe, his party disbanded in England. His Majesty came indeed to the inheritance of a mighty war ; but, victorious in every part of the globe, peace was always in his power, not to negotiate, but to dictate. No foreign habits or attachments withdrew him from the cultivation of his power at home. His revenue for the civil establishment, fixed (as it was then thought) at a large, but definite sum, was ample without being invidious ; his influence, by additions from conquest, by an augmentation of debt, by an increase of military and naval establishment, much strengthened and extended. And coming to the throne in the prime and full vigour of youth, as from affection there was a strong dislike, so from dread there seemed to be a general averseness, from giving anything like offence to a Monarch, against

whose resentment opposition could not look for a refuge in any sort of reversionary hope.

These singular advantages inspired his Majesty only with a more ardent desire to preserve unimpaired the spirit of that national freedom, to which he owed a situation so full of glory. But to others it suggested sentiments of a very different nature. They thought they now beheld an opportunity (by a certain sort of Statesman never long undiscovered or unemployed) of drawing to themselves, by the aggrandisement of a Court Faction, a degree of power which they could never hope to derive from natural influence or from honourable service; and which it was impossible they could hold with the least security, whilst the system of Administration rested upon its former bottom. In order to facilitate the execution of their design, it was necessary to make many alterations in political arrangement, and a signal change in the opinions, habits and connexions of the greatest part of those who at that time acted in publick.

In the first place, they proceeded gradually but not slowly, to destroy everything of strength which did not derive its principal nourishment from the immediate pleasure of the Court. The greatest weight of popular opinion and party connexion were then with the Duke of Newcastle and Mr Pitt. Neither of these held their importance by the new tenure of the Court; they were not therefore thought to be so proper as others for the services which were required by that tenure. It happened very favourably for the new system, that under a forced coalition there rankled an incurable alienation and disgust between the parties which composed the Administration. Mr Pitt was first attacked.

Not satisfied with removing him from power, they endeavoured by various artifices to ruin his character. The other party seemed rather pleased to get rid of so oppressive a support ; not perceiving that their own fall was prepared by his, and involved in it. Many other reasons prevented them from daring to look the true situation in the face. To the great Whig families it was extremely disagreeable, and seemed almost unnatural, to oppose the Administration of a Prince of the House of Brunswick. Day after day they hesitated, and doubted, and lingered, expecting that other counsels would take place ; and were slow to be persuaded that all which had been done by the Cabal, was the effect not of humour, but of system. It was more strongly and evidently the interest of the new Court Faction, to get rid of the great Whig connexions, than to destroy Mr Pitt. The power of that gentleman was vast indeed and merited ; but it was in a great degree personal, and therefore transient. Theirs was rooted in the country. For, with a good deal less of popularity, they possessed a far more natural and fixed influence. Long possession of Government ; vast property ; obligations of favours given and received ; connexions and office ; ties of blood, of alliance, of friendship (things at that time supposed of some force) ; the name of Whig, dear to the majority of the people ; the zeal early begun and steadily continued to the Royal Family : all these together formed a body of power in the nation, which was criminal and devoted. The great ruling principle of the Cabal and that which animated and harmonized all their proceedings, how various soever they may have been, was to signify to the world, that the Court would proceed upon its own proper forces only : and that the

pretence of bringing any other into its service was an affront to it and not a support. Therefore when the chiefs were removed in order to go to the root, the whole party was put under a proscription, so general and severe as to take their hard earned bread from the lowest officers, in a manner which had never been known before even in general revolutions. But it was thought necessary effectually to destroy all dependencies but one; and to show an example of the firmness and rigour with which the new system was to be supported.

Thus for the time were pulled down, in the persons of the Whig leaders and of Mr Pitt, (in spite of the services of the one at the accession of the Royal Family, and the recent services of the other in the war,) the two only securities for the importance of the people; power arising from popularity; and power arising from connexion and personal attachment; and it must be confessed that most of them have religiously kept their faith. Such a change could not however be made without a mighty shock to Government.

To reconcile the minds of the people to all these movements, principles correspondent to them had been preached up with great zeal. Every one must remember that the Cabal set out with the most astonishing prudery, both moral and political. Those, who in a few months after soused over head and ears into the deepest and dirtiest pits of corruption, cried out violently against the indirect practices in the electing and managing of Parliaments, which had formerly prevailed. This marvellous abhorrence which the Court had suddenly taken to all influence, was not only circulated in conversation through the kingdom, but pompously announced to the publick, with many other

extraordinary things, in a pamphlet which had all the appearance of a manifesto preparatory to some considerable enterprise. Throughout, it was a satire, though in terms managed and decent enough, on the politicks of the former Reign. It was indeed written with no small art and address.

In this picce appeared the first dawning of the new system ; there first appeared the idea (then only in speculation) of separating the Court from the Administration ; of carrying everything from national connexion to personal regards ; and of forming a regular party for that purpose, under the name of King's men.

To recommend this system to the people, a perspective view of the Court, gorgeously painted, and finely illuminated from within, was exhibited to the gaping multitude. Party was to be totally done away, with all its evil works. Corruption was to be cast down from Court, as *Atré* was from heaven. Power was from henceforward to be the chosen residence of public spirit ; and no one was to be supposed under any sinister influence, except those who had the misfortune to be in disgrace at Court, which was to stand in lieu of all vices and all corruptions. A scheme of perfection to be realised in a monarchy, far beyond the visionary Republick of Plato. The whole scenery was exactly disposed to captivate those good souls, whose credulous morality is so invaluable a treasure to crafty politicians. Indeed there was wherewithal to charm everybody, except those few who are not much pleased with professions of supernatural virtue, who know of what stuff such professions are made, for what purposes they are designed, and in what they are sure constantly to end. Many innocent gentlemen, who had been talking prose all

their lives without knowing anything of the matter, began at last to open their eyes upon their own merits, and to attribute their not having been Lords of the Treasury and Lords of Trade many years before, merely to the prevalence of party, and to the Ministerial power which had frustrated the good intentions of the Court in favour of their abilities. Now was the time to unlock the sealed fountain of Royal bounty, which had been infamously monopolised and huckstered, and to let it flow at large upon the whole people. The time was come to restore Royalty to its original splendour. *Mettre le Roy hors de page*, became a sort of watch-word. And it was constantly in the mouths of all the runners of the Court, that nothing could preserve the balance of the constitution from being overturned by the rabble, or by a fraction of the nobility, but to free the sovereign effectually from that Ministerial tyranny under which the Royal dignity had been oppressed in the person of his Majesty's grandfather.

4. CLIVE'S REFORMS IN BENGAL

[EDMUND BURKE, *Speech against Warren Hastings*]

When the East India Company had been established in supreme control in Bengal, Clive retired to England. Grave maladministration ensued, and in 1766 Lord Clive returned to India with full powers to organise the government.

Lord Clive went out with new covenants. He went out to put an end to the practice of receiving presents. He himself had been a large receiver of them: yet, as it was in the moment of revolution, the Company would hear no more of it. They sent him out to reform.

Whether they chose well or ill does not signify: I think, upon the whole, they chose well; because his name, authority and weight, would do a great deal. They sent him out to reform the grievances of that country, with such amazing powers as no servant of the Company ever had before. My Lords, I would not be understood here, in my own character, much less in my delegated character, to stand up for any man in the totality of his conduct. I think that some of the measures which Lord Clive took were injudicious, and that some of them cannot be defended. But I do say that the plan which he laid down and the course which he pursued were in general great and well imagined; that he settled great foundations, if they had been adhered to. For he first took strong measures below to put an end to a great many of the abuses that prevailed in the country; and then he went up and did, for a military man, an act which will ever have great civil and political merit—he put a bound to the aspiring spirit of the Company—he limited its conquests, and prescribed bounds to its ambition. “Quiet,” says he, “the minds of the country; and what you have obtained regulate within. Make it known to the country that you resolve to acquire no more.” Accordingly he settled every prince that was concerned in a happy and easy settlement. He settled the subahdar of Oude, who had been driven from his dominions by the military arms and the great military merit of the British commander. He, with a generosity that astonished all Asia, reinstated this enemy of his country peaceably upon his throne; which did more towards quieting the minds of the people of Asia than any Act that had been ever done by the English before. For the Mogul, the head of the Mussulman religion

there, and likewise of the empire, a head honoured and esteemed even in its ruins, he obtained recognition by all the persons that were concerned. He got from him the diwani ; which is the great, grand, period of the constitutional entrance of the Company into the affairs of India. He quieted the minds of the people. He gave to the settlement of Bengal a constitutional form and a legal right, acknowledged and recognised now for the first time by all the princes of the country, because given by the charter of the sovereign. He took care of Bulwant Sing the Raja of Benares, who had taken our part in the war. The Mogul had before granted us the superiority over Bulwant Sing, which the Company had ordered to be restored ; and Lord Clive re-established Bulwant Sing in a secure, easy, quiet, independency. The rents that ought to be paid to the Wazir of the empire he gave to the wazirat. The country was secured to him : and he paid large sums for it at different times, amounting to about £150,000 : for from the beginning of our connection with that part of the country we have been great gainers. Our allies and our enemies were quieted by the restitution of the Nawab of Oude ; and all Asia was conciliated by our settlement with the King. That unhappy fugitive King, who was now deposed and wandering about, the sport of fortune, he settled in an honourable way, and with a decent share of regal dignity.

In this manner he settled all the powers of Hindustan with which we were concerned, and gave the country peace and form. He did not take for the Company the vice-royalty, as Mr Holwell would have persuaded ; but, to satisfy the prejudices of the Mohammedans, the country was nominally left in the hands of the subahdar,

or viceroy, who was to administer the criminal justice and the exterior forms of royalty. The Company took the diwani, or stewardship, which gave them the whole management of the revenue, and made them appear not the oppressors but the protectors of the people. It had all the real power, without any invidious appearance of sovereignty. The Nawab had indeed fallen from any real and effective royalty or vice-royalty, and was stripped of the power of maintaining any troops, which we maintained for him by contract ; yet the dignity of the court was maintained, and the prejudices of the Mohammedans, and particularly of their great nobility, who suffered more by this great revolution even than the old inhabitants of the country, were removed. For there was a revenue of £500,000 which might provide for the great families. The Company likewise, in order to enjoy more securely their revenues put them into the hands of Mohammed Reza Khan, whom Lord Clive found in the management of affairs, and did not displace ; and he was now made deputy steward, as he had before been made lieutenant viccroy ; and a British Resident was now established in Bengal. The Company exercised their powers through the natives ; but the British Resident was the real controlling power.

5. CHARACTERS OF CHATHAM AND CHARLES TOWNSHEND

[EDMUND BURKE, *Speech on American Taxation*]

Burke describes the character of the last ministry brought together by the elder Pitt, and paints his character and that of Charles Townshend, who for a short time became the leading member of the Government.

I have done with the third period of your policy ; that of your Repeal ; and the return of your ancient system, and your ancient tranquillity and concord. Sir, this period was not as long as it was happy. Another scene was opened, and other actors appeared on the stage. The state, in the condition I have described it, was delivered into the hands of Lord Chatham—a great and celebrated name ; a name that keeps this country respectable in every other on the globe. It may be truly called,

Clarum et venerabile nomen
Gentibus, et multum nostrae quod proderat urbi¹.

Sir, the venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his superior eloquence, his splendid qualities, his eminent services, the vast space he fills from power, which, like death, canonizes and sanctifies a great character, will not suffer me to censure any part of his conduct. I am afraid to flatter him ; I am sure I am not disposed to blame him. Let those, who have betrayed him by their adulation, insult him with their malevolence. But what I do not presume to censure, I may have leave to lament. For a wise man, he seemed to me at that time to be governed too much by general

¹ A name renowned and honoured through the world,
One that to this our city wrought much service.

maxims. I speak with the freedom of history, and I hope without offence. One or two of these maxims, flowing from an opinion not the most indulgent to our unhappy species, and surely a little too general, led him into measures that were greatly mischievous to himself and for that reason among others, perhaps fatal to his country ; measures, the effects of which, I am afraid, are for ever incurable. He made an administration, so checkered and speckled ; he put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dove-tailed ; a cabinet so variously inlaid ; such a piece of diversified Mosaic ; such a tessellated pavement without cement ; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white ; patriots and courtiers, King's friends and republicans ; whigs and tories, treacherous friends and open enemies ; that it was indeed a very curious show ; but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on. The colleagues whom he had assorted at the same boards, stared at each other and were obliged to ask, 'Sir, your name' ? —'Sir, you have the advantage of me'—'Mr Such-a-one'—'I beg a thousand pardons'—I venture to say, it did so happen, that persons had a single office divided between them, who had never spoke to each other in their lives, until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points in the same truckle-bed.

Sir, in consequence of this arrangement, having put so much the larger part of his enemies and opposers into power, the confusion was such, that his own principles could not possibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cause withdrew him from public cares, principles directly the contrary were sure to

predominate. When he had executed his plan, he had not an inch of ground to stand upon. When he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer a minister.

When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass. The gentlemen, his friends, who, with the names of various departments of ministry, were admitted to seem as if they acted a part under him, with a modesty that becomes all men, and with a confidence in him, which was justified, even in its extravagance, by his superior abilities, had never, in any instance, presumed upon any opinion of their own. Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about, the sport of every gust, and easily driven into any port; and as those who joined with them in manning the vessel were the most directly opposite to his opinions, measures, and character, and far the most artful and most powerful of the set, they easily prevailed, so as to seize upon the vacant, unoccupied, and derelict minds of his friends; and instantly they turned the vessel wholly out of the course of his policy. As if it were to insult as well as to betray him, even long before the close of the first session of his administration, when everything was publicly transacted, and with great parade, in his name, they made an Act, declaring it highly just and expedient to raise a revenue in America. For even then, Sir, even before this splendid orb was entirely set, and while the Western horizon was in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens, arose another luminary, and, for his hour, became lord of the ascendant.

This light too is passed and set for ever. You understand, to be sure, that I speak of Charles Townshend,

officially the reproducer of this fatal scheme ; whom I cannot even now remember without some degree of sensibility. In truth, Sir, he was the delight and ornament of this House, and the charm of every private society which he honoured with his presence. Perhaps there never arose in this country, nor any country, a man of a more pointed and finished wit ; and (where his passions were not concerned) of a more refined, exquisite, and penetrating judgment. If he had not so great a stock, as some have had who flourished formerly, of knowledge long treasured up, he knew better by far, than any man I ever was acquainted with, how to bring together, within a short time, all that was necessary to establish, to illustrate, and to decorate the side of the question he supported. He stated his matter skilfully and powerfully. He particularly excelled in a most luminous explanation and display of his subject. His style of argument was neither trite and vulgar, nor subtle and abstruse. He hit the House just between the wind and water. And not being troubled with too anxious a zeal for any matter in question, he was never more tedious, or more earnest, than the pre-conceived opinions and present temper of the House ; and he seemed to guide, because he was also sure to follow it.

I beg pardon, Sir, if, when I speak of this and of other great men, I appear to digress in saying something of their characters. In this eventful history of the revolutions of America, the characters of such men are of much importance. Great men are the guide-posts and landmarks in the state. The credit of such men at court, or in the nation, is the sole cause of all the public measures. It would be an invidious thing (most foreign, I trust, to what you think my disposition) to remark

the errors into which the authority of great names has brought the nation, without doing justice at the same time, to the great qualities whence that authority arose. The subject is instructive to those who wish to form themselves on whatever excellence has gone before them.

There are many young members in the House (such of late has been the rapid succession of public men) who never saw that prodigy, Charles Townshend ; nor of course know what a ferment he was able to excite in everything by the violent ebullition of his mixed virtues and failings. For failings he had undoubtedly—many of us remember them ; we are this day considering the effect of them. But he had no failings which were not owing to a noble cause ; to an ardent, generous, perhaps an immoderate, passion for fame ; a passion which is the instinct of all great souls. He worshipped that goddess wheresoever she appeared ; but he paid his particular devotions to her favourite habitation, in her chosen temple, the House of Commons.

6. THE FOURTH MIDDLESEX ELECTION

[HORACE WALPOLE, *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*]

John Wilkes was elected member for Middlesex in 1768. He was expelled from the House and his election was annulled. He was twice re-elected and each time the House of Commons declared the seat vacant. At the fourth election, Colonel Luttrell, who stood a very bad second on the poll, was declared to have been duly elected. After these high-handed proceedings, which shewed that questions of rightful or wrongful election were settled by a purely party vote, the House of Commons ceased to decide such questions.

It required a man of firmest virtue, or a ruffian of dauntless prostitution, to undertake the office of opposing

Wilkes in the decisive contest for the county of Middlesex. There was a young officer, called Colonel Lutterell, whose father, Lord Irnham, was devoted to Lord Butc. They were descended of a good Irish family, who had been attached to and had betrayed King James the Second ; and the morals and characters of both father and son, especially of the former, were in no good estimation. The father had parts, wit, and boldness : the son affected to be a bravo, too, but supported it ill. The son was pitched upon by the junto for candidate for Middlesex ; and Lord Holland and his sons openly espoused him. This last circumstance, and the zeal of the Scots, crowned his unpopularity ; and lest it should not, Wilkes gave out that Lutterell was to be rewarded with a daughter of Lord Bute. One of the race, not long after, attained a far more elevated match.

So desperate did Lutterell's cause appear, that great bets were made on his life ; and at Lloyd's Coffee-house, it was insured for a month. A third candidate soon appeared, one Captain Roache, another duelling Irishman, supposed to be selected by Wilkes, as a proper antagonist to Lutterell.

The struggle now became very serious. The House of Commons party—at least in the approaching violence—affected the tone of legality, and ordered the sheriffs to call on the magistrates to attend and keep the peace at Brentford. On the other hand, a new indictment was preferred at Hicke's Hall against Macquirk, the chairman, for the murder of a constable ; but the grand jury would not find the bill ; yet the next month a new bill was found against him, and he was forced to abscond. The Treasury offered a reward of £500 for discovering the person, who, at the procession of the merchants

had, with a hammer, broke the chariot of one Ross, an aged merchant, and wounded him in several places. The celebrated and unknown writer Junius threw his firebrands about, among so many combustibles, but aimed them chiefly at the head of the Duke of Grafton.

But though the Court affected to proceed according to law, its votaries acted as if a martial campaign was opened. An advertisement on Lutterell's side called on *gentlemen* to accompany and defend him, and not to suffer the mob to govern. Captain Roache, at the same time, advertised that he acted in concert with Wilkes ; and told Lutterell, that if there should any disorder arise, he should ask no questions but of him. Lutterell replied that he would not fight till after the election. The Duke of Northumberland, fearing for his own popularity, gave out that he had influenced no votes on either side.

On the 12th, Colonel Lutterell proceeded to Brentford with a much smaller troop of gentlemen than he had expected ; and the mob having assembled before his door, that little band of heroes stole away to the election by breaking down the wall of the garden behind Lord Irnham's house. This prevented their rendezvous at Holland House, where a great breakfast had been prepared for them. Stephen Fox, Lord Holland's son, proposed Lutterell, as Mr Townshend did Wilkes. Townshend desired the people to behave with temper and decency ; told them, that was no time to be unruly : if they should be denied justice, then would be the moment to defend themselves by the sword. For Wilkes were given 1143 votes ; for Lutterell, 296 ; for Serjeant Whitaker, who had thrust himself into the contest only 5 ; for Captain Roache, not one—but he

was hissed, laughed at, and forced to retire, it being suspected that the Court had bought him.

While this business was in agitation, the House of Commons voted the militia perpetual, on a division of 84 to 79. Beckford and Barré abused the Buckingham party ; and each faction avoided taking part with Wilkes and the Supporters of the Bill of Rights—a disunion that made the Court amends for the errors of their own conduct.

Wilkes being returned by so great a majority, was again rejected by the House : and the Ministers avowed that they intended, according to precedent, to substitute Lutterell on the poll, as being the legal candidate who had had the greatest number of voices ; and the sheriffs were ordered to attend next day on purpose. General Conway strongly supported that intention, for the dignity of Parliament. He had studied the case laboriously, and persuaded himself that it was founded on the law of Parliament ; yet neither he nor its warmest advocates could produce a parallel case, all the precedents quoted for establishing the second person on the poll having happened only where the rejected person had been incapacitated by Act of Parliament, as minors, &c. ; whereas Wilkes lay under no legal incapacity, but had been declared incapable by a vote of one House only, which does not constitute a law. Had Conway, Sir Edward Hawke, and Lord Granby been firm to their first resolution, the Court would not have ventured on such obnoxious and alarming precedents. It was not less prejudicial, that Lord Chatham, though so long announced by Lord Temple, did not appear during that whole session ; whether still temporising with the Court, or that his intellects were yet too disordered, had he

stood forth the champion of Wilkes, at that crisis, it might have shaken the predominance of the court. Norton himself was irresolute ; shuffled at the consultations held at Lord North's, and, though bought to be on his own side, could not be steady to it. The House again endeavoured to avoid mention of Townshend and Sawbridge ; but Edmondson, a foolish Scot, insisted on having the list read of those who had proposed Wilkes—yet no notice ensued—though Townshend, to force out the name of Lord Holland's son, asked who had proposed Lutterell.

The next day, though Saturday, the House sat, and the debate lasted till two o'clock on Sunday morning, when it was carried to admit Lutterell by only 197 voices to 143—so little was the Court sure of their majority on so violent a measure ! Some of their friends quitted them. Harley, the Lord Mayor, fearing for his personal safety in the City, was permitted by the Duke of Grafton to vote against the vote : and several Tory members for counties absented themselves not to offend their constituents,—evidence how little addresses had spoken the real sense of the counties. Burke and James Townshend were severe against the measure, Serjeant Glynn and Grenville temperate, and the latter much applauded.

7. THE UNITED IRISHMEN

[THEOBALD WOLFE TONE, *Autobiography*]

The Irish Parliament was made independent in 1782. Political liberty however was still the exclusive property of the "Protestants," which meant Churchmen as distinct from Nonconformists and Catholics. The general grievances of the population remained unredressed, and in 1791 Theobald Wolfe Tone laid the foundations of the Society of United Irishmen, his own object admittedly having been to unite Dissenters and Roman Catholics in the resolve to free Ireland from the British connection.

The Catholic question was, at this period, beginning to attract the public notice ; and the Belfast volunteers, on some public occasion, I know not precisely what, wished to come forward with a declaration in its favour. For this purpose Russell, who, by this time, was entirely in their confidence, wrote to me to draw up and transmit to him such a declaration as I thought proper, which I accordingly did. A meeting of the corps was held in consequence, but an opposition unexpectedly arising to that part of the declaration which alluded directly to the Catholic claims, that passage was, for the sake of unanimity, withdrawn for the present, and the declaration then passed unanimously. Russell wrote me an account of all this, and it immediately set me on thinking more seriously than I had yet done upon the state of Ireland. I soon formed my theory, and on that theory I have unvaryingly acted ever since.

To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government, to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country—these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the

memory of past dissensions and to substitute the common name of Irishman, in place of the denominations of Protestant¹, Catholic and Dissenter—these were my means. To effectuate these great objects I reviewed the three great sects. The Protestants I despaired of from the outset, for obvious reasons. Already in possession, by an unjust monopoly, of the whole power and patronage of the country, it was not to be supposed they would ever concur in measures, the certain tendency of which must be to lessen their influence as a party, how much soever the nation might gain. To the Catholics I thought it unnecessary to address myself, because, that, as no change could make their political situation worse, I reckoned upon their support to a certainty ; besides, they had already begun to manifest a strong sense of their wrongs and oppressions ; and, finally, I well knew that, however it might be disguised or suppressed, there existed in the breast of every Irish Catholic, an inextirpable abhorrence of the English name and power. There remained only the Dissenters, whom I knew to be patriotic and enlightened ; however, the recent events at Belfast shewed me that all prejudice was not yet entirely removed from their minds. I sat down accordingly, and wrote a pamphlet, addressed to the dissenters, and which I entitled “An Argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland,” the object of which was to convince them that they and the Catholics had but one common interest, and one common enemy ; that, the depression and slavery of Ireland was produced and perpetuated by the divisions existing between them ; and that, consequently, to assert the independence of their country, and their own individual

¹ *i.e.* Anglican.

liberties, it was necessary to forget all former feuds, to consolidate the entire strength of the whole nation, and to form for the future but one people. These principles I supported by the best arguments which suggested themselves to me, and particularly by demonstrating that the cause of the failure of all former efforts, and more especially of the Volunteer Convention in 1783, was the unjust neglect of the claims of their Catholic Brethren. This pamphlet, which appeared in September, 1791, under the signature of a "Northern Whig," had a considerable degree of success. The Catholics (with not one of whom I was at the time acquainted) were pleased with the efforts of a volunteer in their cause, and distributed it in all quarters. The people of Belfast, of whom I had spoken with the respect and admiration I sincerely felt for them, and to whom I was also perfectly unknown, printed a very large edition, which they dispersed through the whole North of Ireland, and I have the great satisfaction to believe that many of the dissenters were converted by my arguments. It is like vanity to speak of my own performance so much ; and the fact is, I believe that I am somewhat vain on that topic ; but, as it was the immediate cause of my being made known to the Catholic body, I may be, perhaps, excused for dwelling upon a circumstance, which I must ever look on, for that reason, as one of the most fortunate of my life. As my pamphlet spread more and more, my acquaintance amongst the Catholics extended accordingly. My first friend in the body was John Keogh, and through him I became acquainted with all the leaders, as Richard McCormick, John Sweetman, Edward Byrne, Thomas Braughall, in short, the whole sub-committee,

and most of the active members of the General Committee. It was a kind of fashion this winter (1791) among the Catholics to give splendid dinners to their political friends, in and out of Parliament, and I was always a guest, of course. I was invited to a grand dinner, given to Richard Burke, on his leaving Dublin, together with William Todd Jones, who had distinguished himself by a most excellent pamphlet in favor of the Catholic cause, as well as to several entertainments, given by clubs and associations; in short I began to grow into something like reputation, and my company was, in a manner, a requisite at all the entertainments of that winter.

But this was not all. The volunteers of Belfast, of the first or green company, were pleased, in consequence of my pamphlet, to elect me an honorary member of their corps, a favor which they were very delicate in bestowing, as I believe I was the only person, except the great Henry Flood, who was ever honored with that mark of their approbation. I was also invited to spend a few days in Belfast, in order to assist in framing the first club of United Irishmen, and to cultivate a personal acquaintance with those men whom, though I highly esteemed, I knew as yet but by reputation.... We formed our club, of which I wrote the declaration, and certainly the formation of that club commenced a new epoch in the politics of Ireland.

8. THE IRISH DEMAND FOR CATHOLIC RELIEF.

[HENRY GRATTAN, *Speeches*]

Many of the Irish Protestants, headed by their greatest leader, Henry Grattan, were zealous friends of the cause of Catholic Emancipation, against which King George III set himself uncompromisingly. This section is the concluding portion of a speech by Grattan when he introduced a Catholic Relief Bill in the Irish Parliament in 1795. The bill was rejected.

I beg to recur to the four heads of objection, the connection, the monarchy, the church, and the Parliament : and I beg leave to lay it down as absolutely and as broadly as language will permit, that these four objects are not endangered by Catholic emancipation ; but, on the contrary, that they cannot be saved without it ; that it is absolutely necessary, in these times, for the connection, for the monarchy, for the church, and for the Parliament that their existences shall be rendered compatible with the privileges of the people. The empire and the constitution are like the world, large enough for all their inhabitants, and all their establishments. The policy that excludes, is your ruin : the bill that harmonises, your safety. Before such a consideration, the difficulties of honourable gentlemen, the real presence, the Virgin Mary, and the Pope, vanish. Before such a consideration, the real difficulties, the quarrel of one minister with another minister, to displace whom, the former destines 3,000,000 of men to everlasting incapacities, do not vanish, but appear in the highest degree culpable and fatal.

It has been said, that this question was forced forward by the last administration, I affirm that it was not in the power of that administration to have kept it

back. The mode in which it should be brought forward was a subject in which the Catholics would have been directed by those who supported them ; but the bringing it forward was, in their minds, no unalterable determination. I affirm it, their communication was touching the mode only, their determination was to bring forward the bill ; which is an answer to that stuff which is written or spoken, that Earl Fitzwilliam brought forward the Catholic question. No ; we found the question ; and we supported it, because it ought to have been supported. It is said the Catholics have had communication with a person, as their secretary, against whom, in a late trial some intercourse with Jackson had appeared ; but he was not their secretary when he had that communication ; and, I understand, on that trial it did appear as follows :—That this gentleman among other reasons for declining to go to France, said he would thereby lose the money promised by the Catholics, by which it appears, from this testimony, that their mind was not disposed to a French communication, but abhorrent to it. Thus the circumstance, if relevant at all to the question, is an evidence in their favour.

Gentlemen have mentioned the conduct of the Catholics to the government. May I be permitted to mention the conduct of the government to them ? And I beg leave to call that conduct the history of proscription.

In 1792, the religious war began ; can we forget the attempt of government to divide the Catholic democracy from its aristocracy, and the people from their leaders, and the flock from the clergy ; their attempt to use the influence of the latter to defeat the claim of the former, and to pervert religion into an instrument against



Irish gratitude to Henry Grattan
(From a print published in 1782)

liberty? Can we forget the paper war of that time carried on by the government, where the scribes of the court, whose fortune was their falsehood, levelled their artillery against the people; and by paragraphs, and libels, and impudence, outraged the wounded feelings of the Catholic subject, and, fed as they were by his taxes, turned assassins of his character? Do we forget the scornful rejection of the Catholic petitions, and the sad and miserable grand jury war? Do not we recollect the instructions sent from the Castle to their friends in the counties, to pledge Protestant against Catholic, on the question of elective franchise? Do we not remember a minister presiding most improperly at one of those meetings, to inflame, mislead, and canker the mind of the Protestant? Do we forget the order in favour of the Catholics from the throne; the instant cringing to that order; and then the return of the malice of the Irish court and the bitterness of its prosecutions; the hive swarming forth again of hireling scribblers, against the characters, and the prosecutions against the lives, of the Catholics, for having petitioned for their liberty? Do we forget these things? Where are the ears of your perjured witnesses, and the minister's little manifesto, hawked about the streets of London and Dublin, (as little to be relied on as these witnesses)? Have we not heard of the closet conversation, and the attempt to poison the mind of the king? the tampering with the corporation, and the endeavouring to exclude, by influence, those whom the government took credit for having rendered admissible by law?

And now behold the growth of the cause under this course of persecution. They began with a division among themselves, and conclude with an unanimity

among themselves, and a division among you : if that can be called a division where the Protestants of a number of the counties, of all the great cities, and all the mercantile interests, have come to petition in their favour, and when nothing prevents the success of the Catholic but the influence of the government. The youth of the kingdom, too, they who in a few years must determine this question, they have decided for the emancipation, with a liberality which is natural to youth, and a sagacity which is peculiar to years—and they will sit soon in those seats, blended with Catholics, while we, blended with Catholics, shall repose in the dust. Another age shall laugh at all this,

“ Her justice bury what your pride has planned,
And laughing plenty reassume the land.”

In this general application *for* the Catholics, there has been no application *against* them ; nor city, nor county, nor grand jury, nor corporation, has appeared against them, that of Dublin alone excepted. Thus the Catholic emancipation ceases to be a question between the Irish Protestant and Catholic, and is now a question between the ministers of another country and the people of Ireland. They advance—the Catholic description of them ; they advance from the wilderness, where for an hundred years they have wandered, and they come laden with their families, and their goods, whether conducted by an invisible hand, or by a cloudy pillar, or a guardian fire, and they desire to be received into your hospitable constitution. Will the elders of the land come forth to greet them ? Or will the British ministry send out their hornet to sting them back again to the desert ?

I mentioned that their claim was sustained by a

power above ; look up ! Behold the balances of heaven !—pride in the scale against justice, and pride flies up and kicks the beam !

9. THE BATTLE OF CORUÑA

[SIR WILLIAM NAPIER, *Battles and Sieges*]

In 1808 Napoleon made his brother King of Spain and sought to master Portugal. Great Britain intervened in Portugal, which was secured. The Spanish population rose in arms against the French domination. While Napoleon was subduing the South, Sir John Moore with a British force effected a diversion by cutting his lines of communication in the North. Napoleon left the business of crushing him to Soult. Moore succeeded in his object of relieving Southern Spain by drawing Soult away in pursuit. But when he reached the port of Coruña he had to turn at bay and defeat Soult before his troops could embark. Moore himself was killed in the hour of victory.

On the 16th of January, 1809, at two o'clock in the afternoon, twenty thousand French veterans opened this battle against fourteen thousand British, who having nine sixpounders to oppose to a numerous light artillery, were also galled by eleven heavy guns on the rocks : and soon that formidable battery opened the fight with a slaughtering fire, sending its bullets crashing through the English ranks from right to centre. Then the columns of infantry, throwing out clouds of skirmishers, descended from their strong ridge to the fight. Those coming from Palavia and Portosa, having some distance to march, did not immediately engage, but the third dashed at once against Elvina, and there was the stress of battle ; the picquets were driven in heaps out of the village, and when that was passed the French mass divided, one portion advancing against Baird's front, the

other turning his right by the valley, where it was only opposed by the screen of light troops.

Sir John Moore sent the 42nd and 50th Regiments against the half column at Elvina, and wheeling back the 4th Regiment on the extremity of his right, poured a fire into the flank of the mass penetrating the valley, where it was also stoutly opposed by the light troops, and soon abated of its vehemence in attack. Then the English general knew that his adversary's whole force and order of battle was unfolded. No infantry menaced the valley from where the French cavalry stood, and the number in front showed that no body of strength for mischief was behind those heights: it was evident that Soult offered a close rough trial of arms, without subtlety, trusting to the valour of his veterans. Eagerly the gallant Moore accepted the challenge. The moment for his counter-stroke had arrived, and at once he called up Frazer's division in support of Paget, giving the latter, who was previously well instructed, the signal to descend into the valley: the French column on his flank being thus provided with opponents, he turned to observe the progress of the fight at Elvina, for as yet the battle had but slightly touched his centre and left.

The 42nd and 50th had driven the enemy back into the village, and the last-named regiment, entering the streets with the repulsed disordered mass and giving no respite, forced it through and broke out, still fighting, on the other side. To support this advance the general now sent a battalion of the Guards down, whereupon the 42nd thinking it a relief and not a reinforcement, retired, with exception of the grenadier company. Some confusion thus occurred, the village was not

occupied, and the 50th, still accompanied by the 42nd Grenadiers, were engaged without support beyond the houses, their array being quite broken by stone inclosures and the disorder of the street fight. At that critical moment the French were strongly reinforced, retook the offensive, and forced the regiment back into Elvina, having killed beyond it the second Major, Stanhope, a nephew of Mr Pitt, and made prisoner the commanding officer Major Napier, known since as the conqueror of Scinde; encompassed by enemies and denied quarter, he received five wounds, but he still fought and struggled for life until a French drummer with a generous heat and indignation forcibly rescued him from his barbarous assailants. Meanwhile Sir John Moore, observing the error of the 42nd, had galloped down, and, with a fiery exhortation, sent it back to the village, where the 50th notwithstanding the loss of their commander was successfully sustaining a very violent conflict: then with heroic anticipations from the development of his counter-combination, he returned to the ridge from whence he could view the whole action.

Elvina was now his centre of battle and pivot of movements, for on his left the battle had then become general and furious, yet the French made no progress against Hope's division; and on the right, in the valley, the attacking column was at bay, wavering under a double fire in front and flank: everywhere the signs of coming victory were bright, when the gallant man, the consummate commander, who had brought the battle to this crisis, was dashed from his horse to the earth. A cannon-shot from the rock battery had torn away all the flesh from his left breast and shoulder, and broken

the ribs over a heart undaunted even by this terrible ghastly mortal hurt ; for with incredible energy he rose to a sitting posture, and with fixed look and unchanged countenance continued to regard the fight at Elvina until the Frenchman's backward steps assured him the British were victorious : then sinking down he accepted succour.

Being placed in a blanket for removal, an entanglement of his belts caused the hilt to enter the wound and Captain Hardinge attempted to take away the weapon altogether ; but with martial pride, the stricken man forbade the alleviation—he would not part with his sword in the field ! Epaminondas, mortally wounded at Mantinea, was anxious for the recovery of his shield. Moore, mortally wounded at Coruña, sustained additional torture rather than part with his sword.

The Theban hero's fall dismayed and paralysed his victorious troops. It was not so with the British at Coruña. They saw Baird, second in command, carried from the field as the General-in-Chief had been ; and they would have seen all their generals fall one after another without abating their battle ; hence it was not long before the French were entirely driven from Elvina, while on the left, they were not only repulsed from the ridge, but pursued and assailed in their own villages ; that of Palavia, defended by the since celebrated General Foy, was taken. Meanwhile Paget, pouring into the valley with conquering violence, overthrew everything in his front, and driving off the dismounted French dragoons who had descended to the lower falls on his right, made for the great rock battery, which he would certainly have stormed if the counter-attack had been continued, and Frazer's division been thrown, as

Moore designed, into the right. The French would thus have been wrecked ; for their ammunition of which the rapid marches through Galicia had only allowed them to bring up a small supply, was exhausted, the river Mero was in full tide behind them, and only one bridge remained for retreat. But this want of ammunition was unknown to the English general Hope, on whom the command had devolved, and he, judging a night action, for it was then dark, too hazardous, profited from the confusion of the French to embark the army without loss and sailed for England. The heroic spirit of Moore went with the troops, his body rested with the enemy.

For some hours after receiving his hurt that great man had lived painfully, but with a calm fortitude that excited the admiration of those about him. Several times he expressed his satisfaction at having won the battle, and his last words were to express a hope "that his country would do him justice."

Full justice has not been done, because malignant faction has striven hard to sully his reputation as a general—but thus he died, and the record of his worth will be as a beacon to posterity so long as heroic virtue combined with great capacity is revered, for in any age, any nation, any conjuncture, Sir John Moore would have been a leading man. Tall he was and vigorous of person, and of a very comely noble aspect, indicating penetration which no subtlety could deceive, valour which no danger could appal, and withal a dignity of mind which awed while it attracted admiration and confidence. With him indeed all commanding qualities seemed to be united to and inseparable from estimable sentiments. Integrity, honour, generosity, patriotism,

adorned the whole course of his existence, and his death furnished an irrefragable test of the sincerity of his life: for both he may claim a place with the greatest men of antiquity.

10. THE BATTLE OF SALAMANCA

[SIR WILLIAM NAPIER, *Battles and Sieges*]

Wellington commanded the British forces in the Peninsula from 1809 to 1813. The battle of Salamanca in 1812 was one of his most brilliant victories.

But Clausel, not content with having thus got the army together in a condition to effect a retreat, attempted to turn the tide of victory, founding hope on a misfortune which had befallen Pack. For that officer, ascending the French Hermanito in one heavy column, was within thirty yards of the summit, believing himself victorious, when the enemy leaped suddenly forward from the rocks upon his front and upon his left flank; the hostile masses closed, there was a thick cloud of smoke, a shout, a stream of fire, and the side of the hill was covered with the dead, the wounded, and flying Portuguese. They were unjustly scoffed at for this failure; no troops could have withstood that crash upon such steep ground, and the propriety of attacking the hill at all seems questionable. The result went nigh to shake the whole battle. For the fourth division had just then reached the southern ridge of the basin, and one regiment had actually gained the summit when twelve hundred French, arrayed on the reverse slope, charged up hill when the British were quite breathless and disordered by the previous fighting; the French

came up resolutely and without a shot won the crest, and even pursued down the other side until two supporting regiments below checked them.

This counter-blow took place at the moment of Pack's defeat, and then Maucune, no longer in pain for the Hermanito, menaced the left flank and rear of the fourth division with skirmishers, until a wing of the 40th Regiment wheeling about with a rough charge, cleared the rear. Maucune would not engage more deeply at that time, yet Ferey's troops pressed vigorously against the front of the fourth division, and Brennier did the same by the first line of the fifth division; Boyer's dragoons also came on rapidly, and the allies, outflanked and overmatched, lost ground. Fiercely and fast the French followed, and the fight once more raged in the basin below. General Cole had before this fallen deeply wounded, Leith had the same fortune, but Beresford promptly drew Spry's Portuguese brigade from the second line of the fifth division, and thus flanked the advancing columns of the enemy: yet he also fell desperately wounded, and Boyer's dragoons came freely into action, because Anson's cavalry had been checked, after Le Marechant's charge, by a heavy fire of artillery.

Now the crisis of battle arrived, victory was for the general who had the strongest reserves in hand, and Wellington, seen that day at every point where and when his presence was most required, brought up the sixth division, and turned the scale by a charge, rough, strong, and successful. Nevertheless the struggle was no slight one. Hulse's brigade, which was on the left went down by hundreds and the 61st and 11th Regiments won their way desperately and through such a fire as

British soldiers only can sustain. Some of Boyer's dragoons also, breaking in between the fifth and sixth divisions, slew many men and caused some disorder in the 53rd ; yet that brave regiment lost no ground nor did Clausel's impetuous counter-attack avail at any point, after the first burst, against the steady courage of the allies. The southern ridge was thus regained, the French generals Menne and Ferey were wounded, the first severely, the second mortally ; Clausel himself was hurt, Boyer's reserve of dragoons, coming on at a canter, were met and broken by the fire of Hulse's noble brigade, and the current of the fight once more set for the British. The third division continued to outflank the enemy's left, Maucune abandoned the Hermanito, Foy retired from Calvariza, and the allied host, righting itself as a gallant ship after a sudden gust, again bore onwards in blood and gloom : for though the air, purified by the storm of the night before, was peculiarly clear, one vast cloud of smoke and dust rolled along the basin, and within it was the battle with all its sights and sounds of terror.

When Wellington had thus restored the fight in the centre, he directed the first division to push between Foy and the rest of the French army, which would have rendered it impossible for the latter to rally or escape ; but this order was not executed, and Foy's and Maucune's divisions were skilfully used by Clausel to protect his retreat. Foy, posted on undulating ground and flanked by dragoons, covered the roads to the fords of Huerta and Encina ; Maucune, reinforced with fifteen guns, was on a steep ridge in front of the forest, covering the road to Alba de Tormes ; and behind this ridge, the rest of the army, then falling back in disorder before the

third, fifth and sixth divisions, took refuge. Wellington immediately sent the light division in two lines, flanked by dragoons, against Foy, and supported them with the first division in columns, flanked on the right by two brigades of the fourth division, which he drew from the centre, when the sixth division had restored the fight. The seventh division and the Spaniards followed in reserve, the country was covered with troops, and a new army seemed to have arisen out of the earth.

Foy, throwing out a cloud of skirmishers, retired by wings, firing heavily from every rise of ground upon the light division, which returned no shot, save by its skirmishers ; for three miles this march was under his musketry, occasionally thickened by a cannonade, but the French aim was baffled by the twilight and rapid gliding of the lines. Meanwhile the French general Desgravers was killed, the flanking brigades from the fourth division penetrated between Maucune and Foy, and it seemed difficult for the latter to extricate his troops. Yet he did so thus. Augmenting his skirmishers on the last defensible ridge, along the foot of which ran a marshy stream, he redoubled his musketry and made a menacing demonstration with his horsemen just as the darkness fell ; the British guns immediately opened, a squadron of dragoons galloped forwards from the left, the infantry impetuously hastened to the summit of the hill, and a rough shock seemed at hand, but there was no longer an enemy : the main body had gone into the forest on their left during the firing and the skirmishers fled swiftly after, covered by the smoke and coming night.

Maucune was now maintaining a noble battle. He was outflanked and outnumbered, yet the safety of the

French army depended on his courage, he knew it, and Pakenham, marking his bold demeanour, advised Clinton, who was immediately in his front, not to assail him until the third division should have turned his left. Nevertheless Clinton plunged his troops into action under great disadvantage ; for after remaining some time unnecessarily under Maucune's batteries, which ploughed heavily through their ranks, they were suddenly directed to attack the hill, and aided by a brigade of the fourth division they rushed up ; but in the darkness of the night the fire showed from afar how the battle went. On the English side a sheet of flame was seen, sometimes advancing with an even front, sometimes pricking forth in spear-heads, now falling back in waving lines, anon darting upwards in one vast pyramid, the apex of which often approached yet never gained the actual summit of the mountain ; but the French musketry, rapid as lightning, sparkled along the brow of the height with unvarying fulness, and with what destructive effects the dark gaps and changing shapes of the adverse fire showed too plainly ; meanwhile Pakenham turned the left, Foy glided into the forest, and Maucune's task being thus completed the effulgent crest of the ridge became black and silent and the whole French army vanished as it were in the darkness.

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